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The World Must Choose!

THE MEETING of President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee came at a decisive moment. It may well be that the outcome will set the world on the road to lasting peace or to war. The conferees will have many subjects to discuss. The future of the atomic bomb is only one of them, though certainly the most important. Others are a revival of Anglo-American friendship which was seriously impaired by our abrupt cancellation of Lend-Lease; action on Palestine in which the British apparently want us to live up to our words by assuming responsibility; revision of the Potsdam agreement on Germany, where the disastrous food situation requires large imports; and last but not least, British participation in the control of Japan, for which the Australians in particular are clamoring. In addition, it may be advisable for the two statesmen to discuss the explosive situations in China and Indonesia, where both countries have intervened militarily although they have no business to do so.

It is most unfortunate that Stalin is not attending the conference. *It is of the greatest importance, therefore, that the conference shall not give the impression of being directed against the Soviet Union.* The Russians have always looked with suspicion on international conferences in which they did not participate. They will not only observe the proceedings closely, but may be expected to be heard from if they feel that their absence might lead to the formation of a hostile Anglo-American bloc. The best way—as a matter of fact, the only

way—to reassure them would be for the conference to decide to share the atomic-bomb “secret” with Russia by putting it under international control.

As things now stand, this country has accumulated a stockpile of atomic bombs large enough to destroy any other nation. We are preparing to spend \$500 million next year on the further development of atomic energy. Legislation is being debated which would very likely place control of our atomic resources in the hands of men trained to believe that international agreements will always be subordinate to national armaments.

If we continue along this nationalistic road, Great Britain will take similar action. “Fifthly, and I think this is agreed,” Winston Churchill told the House of Commons, “we should make atomic bombs ourselves . . . with the least possible delay.” Russia will soon follow. “It is not possible at the present time,” Foreign Commissar Molotov told the Russian people, “for a technical secret of any great size to remain the exclusive possession of some one country or some narrow circle of countries.”

Great Britain, we know, is ready to place atomic energy under world control. British public opinion is far in advance of American in demanding this solution. Wrote the conservative *Daily Express*: “Give the secret of the atomic bomb to Russia. A world committee of nations is the only safeguard against future war. It is absolutely wrong that one nation or two nations should control a weapon which might be capable of much con-

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clusive destruction in war. The knowledge must be shared by those who fought together for a better world." And Russia is certainly willing to create a world control commission for atomic energy. "The discovery of atomic energy," Mr. Molotov declared, "should not encourage either a propensity to exploit the discovery in the play of forces in international policy or an attitude of complacency as regards the future of the peace-loving nations. . . . The United Nations Organization should not be like the League of Nations, which proved utterly incapable of preventing aggression and organizing forces for crushing possible aggression."

Here, in our decisive country, we are gaining understanding—but too slowly. The atomic scientists have entered the, for them, strange precinct of politics because they are convinced that world control is the only hope. They need the immediate help of all Americans, working through every organization and the press. Russia and the other nations of the world must be made our partners if we are to avert catastrophe.

—And in Addition to Atoms

IT WILL NOT be a sufficient contribution to peace if Prime Minister Attlee and President Truman agree on a good program for managing atomic energy and decide how to bridge over their disagreements with the USSR. The noblest intentions and the greatest decisions can be rendered worthless by action which, in matters of less magnitude, runs directly counter to a policy of peace and democracy. The United States and Britain are now engaged in such action in China, Indonesia and Palestine.

The Chinese civil war grows from day to day. China has been an American theatre. Our soldiers have fought there, and have trained and advised the Chungking forces. Our munitions and supplies have gone to them. During the war against Japan, honest Americans in China, both official and unofficial, warned that the Chungking warlords were more concerned to build up their strength for war against the Communists than to defeat the foreign invader. These warnings were disregarded by the Department of State, which seems to have completed its blunder by abdicating to the Army.

The warnings have been proved true. To withdraw our forces now will not clear us of responsibility. We *have* intervened against Yenan, regardless of whether the Communists' charges of new intervention are correct. Nothing could do more to disturb future peace than a long and bitter civil war in China, while divided great powers back their favorites. No time should be lost in making China a United Nations theatre and bringing into play the joint force of the Allies to stop the fighting and make peace.

The Southwestern Pacific has been a British theatre.

There the British commanding general, representing the Allies, is bombing and machine-gunning the Indonesian forces of independence. Though the Javanese are under Dutch rule, the British are fighting for the imperial interests of the Netherlands. We cannot escape responsibility by erasing the identification marks from the equipment we have supplied. This war is shocking, unjust and blindly stupid. No better way could be imagined to turn Asiatics against the so-called liberal and democratic Western powers. The legitimate interests of these nations cannot possibly be served by allowing this murderous conflict to continue.

In Palestine the mistake is rather one of delay and inaction. There is no escape from the duty of permitting immigration for the homeless Jews of Europe. Yet Britain obstructs the way. We argue with her, but are we ready to accept the responsibility for a different decision?

The danger of this situation is underlined by such inflammatory speeches as those of Senator Brewster of Maine, who urges that we make Palestine an American "listening post" for a future conflict in the Near East between Russia and Britain. Loaded, we suppose, with atomic bombs to destroy both of them. It is high time to squelch Jewish and Arab nationalisms by merging British, American and Russian nationalisms. There must be a common policy which will allow the Jews to go where they wish, without playing politics with their lives.

Labor Meets Management

AS THE Washington Labor-Management Conference entered its second week, it was clear that the management side, in its determination to exclude the wage-price-profit issue from the agenda, was as united as the labor side was disunited. Then—after initial wrangling between CIO delegates who sought to bring President Truman's wage-price program before the conference, and AFL delegates, supported by John L. Lewis, who agreed with management's point of view in this matter—the meeting settled down to the task of finding new ways and means for the settlement of industrial disputes.

There is much to be said in favor of the CIO's position that agreement on wages and prices should precede the setting up of more adequate collective-bargaining instrumentalities. It is true that the existing methods have largely broken down, as Philip Murray pointed out, over the important issue of wages. It is quite likely that the Administration would have looked with indulgence on the conference's possible decision to include this issue in its agenda. It may now regret not having done so itself when it first invited both sides to the Washington parley. On the other hand, it may have intentionally omitted the wage-price question from the

agenda in the knowledge that, had it been included, management might have refused to participate in the conference. For, in contrast to collective bargaining—on the need for which both sides now agree, contrary to the situation after the last war—a national wage-price-profit policy has not as yet been institutionalized in the country's economic thinking. The attitude of the AFL is ample proof.

If both labor and management could agree on an over-all wage-price policy, the work of the collective-bargaining agencies would certainly be easier. Continued disagreement between management and labor on wages and prices might well wreck even the best methods which the conference may work out. But exclusion of the wage-price problem does not necessarily mean that the conference has failed already, or that it is bound to fail.

The need for more adequate collective-bargaining agencies and methods is real enough. The War Labor Board is about to go out of existence. Management has long recognized, if reluctantly, the advantage of dealing with union demands peaceably, rather than by force and violence. Some of the proposals submitted to the conference by management suggest that it is genuinely interested in streamlining collective-bargaining procedures. There is reason to hope that the conference may reach mutually satisfactory formulas on which the Administration and Congress can act. While caution is necessary, to predict failure would be to prejudice the work of the conference.

Toward World Federation

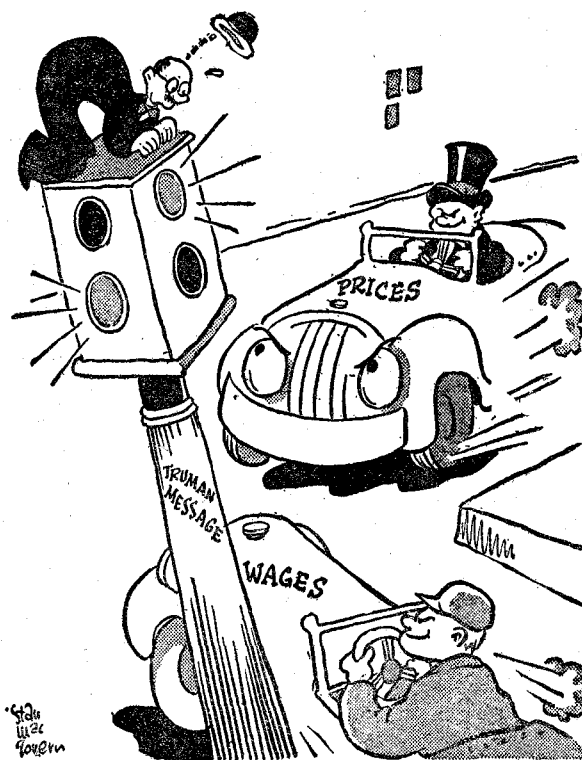
IT IS REPORTED that the British-American financial representatives in Washington have agreed on the draft of a proposed charter for an organization to govern world trade, and that this draft has been approved by the British cabinet. If satisfactory terms can be arranged for the financial assistance which Britain needs in the transitional period, both nations will support this charter in an international conference called to create the trade organization. It may then take its place beside the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank and other economic agencies of the UNO. Together with these, it would come under the jurisdiction of the Social and Economic Council.

Comment on the specific provisions of this charter must be reserved until its official text is published. In the meantime we must understand the necessity for some organization of the kind if peace is to be safeguarded and world government is to be achieved. In the legitimate excitement about the atom bomb, attention has been concentrated on proposals for political machinery to unify the nations and safeguard the human future. Important though such proposals are, we should be unwise to forget that political forms are hollow without economic and social content. We must

dig hard at the more prosaic task of fashioning a world economy which shall embody justice and be capable of providing the basis for a good life, if worldwide democracy and genuine federation are to become possible. This is a lesson learned by hard knocks in the past; new scientific terrors should not lead us to ignore it.

Why do we need a complicated agreement about world trade and a continuing body to administer it? Because if world trade goes awry, whole populations are threatened with starvation. Manufacturing nations which do not have sufficient natural resources to sustain their peoples or their industries must be assured of a flow of the necessary materials. In a world of competitive economic nationalism, the necessity for safeguarding this flow buttresses imperialism and conquest. Nations which depend on the sale of their agricultural or mineral products to others are impoverished when these others diminish their purchases. International disputes then flow easily from quarrels about repayment of international investments. Monopolies exploiting basic resources grow rich on the oppression of colonial producers or the extortion of consumers; they often use their riches to control or corrupt governments. When depressions upset markets and international payments, the several nations erect protective barriers which diminish world trade as a whole and postpone recovery.

There is no single government which can police international trade in the interests of all. The urgent need for policing it impels separate governments to try. The only means a government can find with which to do so, so long as it remains separate, is to enlarge the borders over which its own political control pre-



Stan MacGovern in the
New York Post

Green Light for Everybody?

vails, and to exclude, exploit or bribe others. In a brutal sense this is the history of Nazi Germany. But the same impulsion, with greater refinements and more humanistic reserve, has strongly influenced the action of others. Lectures of one government by another will not alter the situation, nor will defeat of an aggressor in war remove it.

To set up a world economic government is the only right answer. The forthcoming proposal from the Washington conference is another step toward this goal. This is the main justification for the aid we are now asked to extend to Britain—and to other nations. Much as they wish to participate in an orderly world economy, they literally cannot do so without the means of economic survival. The United States is the only nation which can now extend such assurance. The chief responsibility for world economic order, and hence for world peace, now literally rests on us.

The City Elections

THE REASON for scheduling local elections in "off-years" is to minimize the effect of national party loyalties or other extraneous considerations. It is therefore dangerous to read much political meaning into a series of local elections. Unless unusual interest is aroused, the registration is usually light and little can be learned about national trends.

This observation does not wholly apply to the recent municipal elections in New York City and Detroit. In New York, the national Democratic forces attempted to rehabilitate the local machine and to pave the way for capturing the state against Dewey in 1946 by electing William O'Dwyer. Dewey accepted the challenge and did his best to aid the Republican nominee. The American Labor Party—the local branch of the PAC—allied itself with the Democrats in this contest, while the right-wing labor political faction—the Liberal Party—tried to demonstrate its strength by going along with Dewey and supporting the Tammany Democrat whom the Republicans decided to nominate—Jonah Goldstein.

In Detroit the CIO attempted to prove the power of labor by electing Richard Frankenstein, a vice-president of the Auto Workers, while support of the incumbent Mayor was bolstered by every anti-labor and anti-CIO faction, with every technique of red-baiting and exploiting prejudice against Negroes and Jews.

In New York the voting was light, and no popular enthusiasm was shown for any mayoralty candidate except Newbold Morris, who entered the race as an independent at the last moment, with the support of Mayor LaGuardia. On the sole issue of good government, and without any established party organization, Mr. Morris succeeded in polling more votes than did Judge Goldstein on the Republican ticket—though

with Liberal votes Goldstein nosed him out for second place. O'Dwyer was elected by an overwhelming plurality. Dewey's star is correspondingly low on the horizon.

Aside from these facts, progressives can take little comfort from the New York election. In spite of endorsement by Truman and Wallace, O'Dwyer polled in the Democratic column less than half the votes cast. The division of his opponents accounted for his great plurality. Yet he could have won without the endorsement of the ALP, which thus lost its claim to exercising the balance of power. Both labor factions, as well as the Republicans, lost votes to Morris, because they accepted machine choices. On the face of the returns, if labor had been united, and had nominated as strong a candidate as Morris, it could have come close to winning the election without any old-party alliances. The combined vote for the ALP, the Liberal Party and Morris was 782,000, while O'Dwyer polled 840,000 in the Democratic column. Labor united, with local progressive support, might easily have done better than this. There is hope that O'Dwyer may make a good mayor, but the result has little national significance.

In Detroit excitement ran high and the vote was unusually heavy. Frankenstein lost by 57,000 in a total of 491,000—not a discouragingly large margin if one is thinking in terms of the long task of building up a labor party. Here again labor disunity shares the onus of defeat, since AFL factions opposed the labor candidate. Uneasiness over strikes and threatened strikes added fuel to the conservative flames. Typical fascist techniques were used to arouse hatred against labor, and Gerald L. K. Smith publicly claimed credit for the result. Mayor Jeffries himself repudiated this support, saying it was "the most vicious, nasty campaign I have ever witnessed." The outcome has done Detroit no good, but anyone who believes that a single such defeat can expunge the power of labor in politics is grossly deceived.

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Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE

Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, HELEN FULLER, ELIZABETH HULING, RALPH G. MARTIN, GEORGE MAYBERRY

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A British Appeal on Atomic Energy

by Captain Raymond Blackburn

IT IS APPARENT that Mr. Churchill and the late President of the United States came, in deadly secrecy, to an agreement in Quebec in September, 1943, on the subject of atomic energy. It is also apparent that the terms of this agreement left the development of the peacetime use of atomic energy by Great Britain very much to the discretion of the President of the United States.

There seems to be much confusion today as to whether or not our British scientists are in full possession of the so-called secret of the atomic bomb. Contrary to what President Truman may have led some people to suppose, our scientists are, in fact, in possession of every detail of manufacture, every scientific secret—in short the whole technical “know-how” as to the production of the atomic bomb. American scientists have exchanged scientific information with British scientists, and unless a progressive attitude is adopted in place of our present attitude, I believe that the scientists both of Britain and America might themselves take independent action, and for my own part I would not blame them for so doing.

What is happening today in the United States of America? Only a tiny fraction of the enormous expenditure of capital, materials and labor is being devoted to the peacetime uses of atomic energy. Well over 90 percent of the effort goes to producing bigger and better bombs for an undefined purpose. President Truman regards this as a sacred trust. Why, then, does he not concentrate on the cheap production of power through the release of atomic energy, in which case in a comparatively few years men would no longer have to go down into the belly of the earth to hew coal, oil could be outdated, gigantic schemes of irrigation could make the desert blossom like the rose? Moreover, there is a tremendous medical side to the release of atomic energy. By it a radio-active species of every chemical element can be prepared which would be of inestimable value in medicine, both for the purposes of research, for diagnosis and for therapy. If, by building bombs instead of by ending men's drudgery and by solving the secrets of nature, the President thinks that he is discharging a sacred trust, then he must be mistaking Lucifer for the Almighty.

The story becomes even more anxious when one inquires what firms are, in fact, managing plants on

behalf of the American War Department that are now producing bigger and better bombs. Their names are indeed “names of fear, unpleasing to a Russian ear.” The enormous factories are managed by the firm of duPont which, as is well known, had agreements with Imperial Chemical Industries of this country and with I. G. Farben of Germany, agreements which provided for their revival after the war and which are quite reasonably regarded, in Russian quarters, as having been part of an encirclement policy directed against them.

We should dissociate ourselves at the earliest possible moment from these interests. We should associate ourselves with progressive opinion, and with the scientists who are unanimous that, at the earliest possible moment, we must get back to the peacetime exchange of scientific information.

There is one fact of cardinal importance about the release of atomic energy: it should be in the possession of all. It is quite impossible to exploit all the peacetime usage of nuclear energy without being at the same time in a position to manufacture bombs.

Faced with these facts, I suggest that His Majesty's Government should immediately and openly urge internationalization of research and production in relation to atomic energy, and the calling of a conference of scientists, as well as statesmen, to recommend to the United Nations the best system of international control of atomic energy which can be devised.

I am well aware that it is a simple matter to invent a device or build factories in such a way that they cannot easily be detected. But if we get the benefit of all the scientists of the world and their knowledge, labor and experience, and concentrate on the vital task of finding out how this invention can be controlled, there is no reason to suppose that they will completely fail.

We must think of this on the highest possible level. I would ask the Prime Minister, when he travels over to the United States, to remember the words that may well be of high significance today, words which breathe the spirit of men, the essential desire for goodness that lies in all our hearts, the desire for world unity which is there in Soviet Russia, in the United States and all over India and China, just as it is in our hearts, and bring that to fruition. I mean the last words written by Emily Bronte:

There is not room for death,
Nor atom that His might could render void
Thou, Thou art being and breath,
And what Thou art can never be destroyed.

This article is a condensation of a House of Commons speech by Captain Blackburn, Labor Party Member of Parliament for Kings Norton.

Russia and the Peace

by William Mandel

THE LOSSES of the Soviet Union in World War II were heavy enough to make the cost of the First World War seem relatively minor. A zone inhabited by 88 million people—nearly half the population—came under German domination. In it the Nazis pursued their policy of "genocide." They sought to exterminate the Jews and the Slavs, both to create *Lebensraum* and, when defeat was inevitable, to weaken their enemies so that Germany could win the next war. The indictment for the Nuremberg trial of top Nazi criminals lists three million Soviet citizens murdered in specific instances, without considering those of the four million killed at Oswiecim and the million at Maidanek who may have been brought from the USSR. With at least five million soldiers dead and the millions of civilians who died of starvation and disease, it is probably an underestimate to say that the Soviet population has been reduced by ten million. America and the British Empire together lost about 600,000.

The sufferings past and still to be endured by the people of the occupied Soviet territories have been reduced to cold statistics. Twenty-five of the 88 million saw their homes burned or blasted to the ground. (The ratio of destruction in France, by the way, is almost as high.) Six million homes and public buildings were destroyed, four million of which were privately owned. Also privately owned were the following numbers of requisitioned and generally slaughtered livestock: 1.5 million horses, 9 million cattle, 12 million hogs and 13 million sheep and goats. These figures represent half of all livestock lost.

The people of the liberated Soviet areas have not only had their housing standards reduced by a third; their food supply and the means of raising it has been cut by more than half. The Russians were able to evacuate little machinery. The Germans stole or destroyed 137,000 tractors out of 200,000 in this area; 49,000 harvester combines out of 60,000. Of minor machines, they seized 60 to 70 percent, mainly for conversion into scrap for their steel furnaces. The numbers are vast: four million plows, harrows and other

agricultural implements; 265,000 seeders; 885,000 mowers, threshers and other harvesting equipment.

Do the figures bore you? They don't bore the Russians: they starve them, they impoverish them, and not only the people of the liberated areas. Half the locomotives and freight cars in the whole USSR were lost in the war by destruction and plunder; one-ninth of the capacity of the textile industry, a third of the paper and lumber industries, half of the match industries. This includes only capacity permanently destroyed or now somewhere in Germany—in the American, British and French, as well as the Soviet, zones. The heavier industries were, to some extent, replaced by wartime construction in the Soviet East.

CAN THE RUSSIANS want war? Would they tolerate a government they suspected of preparing another war? Would they tolerate the present government if they felt it responsible for the suffering they now endure? The statistics speak for themselves.

Soviet foreign policy can be put in a single sentence: Stalin and his fellows have no intention of failing to justify the expectations of their people for a lasting peace, and for security measures to prevent their own country from becoming a battleground if war should come again despite the efforts of the Soviet Union.

In brief, Soviet policy looks like this: Germany was the chief aggressor in two successive wars. Therefore Germany must be stripped of the means of making war, both by territorial losses and industrial disarmament. Through German plunder, the victim countries, including the Soviet Union, suffered losses in living standards of 50 percent or more. Therefore German industries must be moved to these countries to make this good. The German people followed Hitler because their higher living standard flattered them into regarding themselves as supermen. Therefore that standard must not be permitted to rise above that of the peoples whom they robbed. The German people showed by their last-ditch resistance that they supported Hitler. Therefore, until they have learned better, their leadership must not be decided by free elections, but must be in the hands of those Germans whose active resistance to Hitler showed that they were anti-war and anti-fascist. Semi-feudal Junker landownership has been the basis of the Prussian officer caste and political reaction; therefore the estates must be divided up among the peasantry, thus creating an economic foundation for democracy. *Volksdeutsche* abroad have been the basis for espionage and fifth-column activities; therefore they must be sent home to work on reconstruction.

William Mandel has been a consultant on Russia and special writer for the United Press since 1943. He was a research associate for the American-Russian Institute in New York City, and lived in Russia for a year, where he attended Moscow State University. He is the author of The Soviet Far East and Central Asia, published last year by the Institute of Pacific Relations and Dial Press, and is now working on another book, The Union of Soviet Republics, to be published by Dial next January.

As for Eastern Europe, Moscow reasons as follows. German control over these areas enabled the war against the USSR to be launched on Russia's frontier, and thus allowed Germany to conquer nearly half her people and national wealth. Therefore German influence must be uprooted and the Soviet strategic frontier brought to the new borders of Germany. In the past, Germany could assert her will because of the economic weakness of these countries, caused by the lack of purchasing power of the sharecropping peasantry and the landowners' greed for estates beyond the national frontiers. Therefore the landed estates are being divided to eliminate the feudalists as a political factor and to create an independent peasantry which will afford a home market for native industry, thereby enlarging the classes which the Russians believe fundamental to democracy—urban workers, independent farmers, with intellectuals serving their needs for education, health and culture.

The anti-Soviet policies and industrial backwardness of these countries were also traceable to the role of foreign cartels and monopolies in their capital structure, making them suppliers of raw materials and markets for finished goods (*e. g.*, 40 percent of the shares of Hungarian banks were avowedly foreign-owned before the war, excluding camouflaged holdings). To eliminate this source of reaction, to render impotent imperialist tendencies among native bankers and industrialists and to make these countries industrially strong enough to be politically independent, economic agreements have been signed which give Moscow 50-percent control over their development. This control is to be used to further heavy industry for the export of reparations to the USSR in the form of machinery—exactly the opposite of the economics of imperialism, which seeks to maintain the agrarian character of the countries it controls.

German dominance was based on the inability of the anti-collaborationist parties—except in Yugoslavia—to get together and stick together. Therefore these parties are encouraged to maintain the unity they learned in whatever underground existed.

Finally, the foreign policy of most of these countries was based on alliance with their partners in World War I in expectation of war against the USSR. But it turned out differently; the alliance took the form of subjugation to Germany in a war in which "East" and "West" were united. Therefore Moscow urges the maintenance of that relationship: alliance of East and West against a recurrence of German aggression. But Moscow opposes the renewal of the futile and harmful prewar alliances with the West against the USSR, and this is the only reason it can see for Western encouragement to those East European politicians who favored that policy.

As far as Russia's part in the war against Japan is concerned, her contribution consisted primarily in her

pinning down—even after the invasion in Western Europe—two-thirds of the Wehrmacht until the end of the war. But the Soviet Union, convinced that the peace can be built only on policies pursued jointly by the nations which have the power to stop aggressors, is content to have its three allies share the rule over Germany on an equal basis. Having kept Japan's most powerful army out of action until the end of the war and having then defeated it, Moscow believes both on that ground and on the "One World" principle which is basic to its foreign policy, that Japan should be controlled by a multi-nation council similar to the one in Berlin.

Soviet policy toward the colonial and semi-colonial world pursues its traditional course. Moscow is evacuating rich Manchuria within the three-month period stipulated in the Soviet-Chinese agreement, and turning it over to Central Government troops, despite its dislike for Chungking. The absence of Russian protest against stationing American naval vessels and Marines, without benefit of treaty, on the Chinese coast within 100 miles of the naval base at Dairen can be best appreciated by imagining the Anglo-American reaction should the Russians land on the South China coast, a similar distance from Hong Kong and 500 miles from the Philippines. Clearly Moscow has shown greater confidence in its Allies than they have in it.

Russia brought no trusteeship proposals to San Francisco, advocating, instead, complete independence. The United Nations preferred to adopt the American proposal, and Moscow feels entitled to participation in trusteeships on a par with its Allies. Russia is well aware that the German drive toward Asia proceeded along the coast of North Africa as well as via the Balkans, and that the Japanese attempt at junction with the Germans by naval action came uncomfortably close to gaining access to the Red Sea. Had they succeeded, the Dardanelles and Iran would have been highways to the Soviet oil supply, which is right on the frontier. Moscow believes that trusteeships in Tripolitana and Eritrea would safeguard its own soft underbelly more effectively than the British were able to do alone.

Reviewing the course of Soviet foreign relations over the past quarter-century, it is evident that a policy of collective security is the only one in which Moscow has any faith. There is no alternative, in its view. Therefore it can be expected to pursue that policy, come what may. But its expulsion from the League of Nations in 1940 taught it that collective security is not synonymous with the success of one or two great powers in gaining the support of a large number of smaller ones under the slogan of equal opportunity, when the actions jointly undertaken threaten the sovereignty of another power and ultimately end in catastrophe for all.

This Is Your Detroit Striker

by Ralph G. Martin

IT'S ONE of those streets on Detroit's West Side that sits alongside the railroad tracks, a long row of dingy white wooden houses, mostly carbon copies. Joe Wadrzyk and his wife live at 9516 Graham Street, the only house in the block with an iron fence around it. They live upstairs in four small, neatly kept rooms.

"This place isn't as nice as the one we used to live in before I went into the Army," said Joe, who is short, heavy-set, slow-talking. "We used to live in a five-room house all by ourselves," he said, wiping his glasses. "But that used to cost us 35 bucks a month. That's a lot of money, I guess." He took a quick look around the small living room. "We only pay 20 bucks a month for this place."

The screeching noise of a fast-moving train drowned out the conversation and the building trembled. "It sure makes a helluva racket, don't it?" he asked.

He was staring out of the window at the disappearing train when he said, "You know, things are sure a lot different back here than I thought they'd be. Over in Germany, I sorta had the bright idea that all I had to do was to come home and get fat and rich."

His wife's loud laugh came from the kitchen.

"Maybe you got a little fat, Joe," she said, "but you sure didn't get rich."

Joe pretended not to hear. "I got my first paycheck this week," he said, "and you know what I got? I got \$39.90, and by the time they sliced off the dough for taxes and insurance, I had 34 bucks left to take home. Can you imagine that? Thirty-four bucks a week, only 14 more than when I started as a messenger boy for General Motors 22 years ago. Isn't that a laugh? It's like starting all over again now."

"And you're not a spring chicken any more," said his wife softly, sitting down in the living room. She was a round-faced, husky woman with a pleasant smile, only she wasn't smiling now.

"No," Joe said slowly, "I'm not a spring chicken any more."

Joe's wife unconsciously folded and unfolded her hands. "Thirty-four dollars a week used to be good

money, Joe," she said cheerfully. "When we got married five years ago, it was wonderful money."

She retold everything they had bought with his old salary—all the furniture, the clothes, the car.

"But what can you buy with it now?" said Joe. "It goes like that," and he snapped his fingers. "Before the war we'd go shopping on a Saturday and we'd buy all the groceries we needed for a whole week for only \$5," he said. "Now it costs us at least 15 bucks a week for food alone, sometimes even 20."

He picked up the newspaper and then threw it down. "Hell, even the paper costs a nickel now."

He picked up the newspaper again and looked at the headlines. "And if you read all the papers," he said, "you'd think that all us workers are just a bunch of Reds if we go out on strike to try to get 30 percent more wages. Me, I'm a registered Democrat and 12 bucks more a week isn't gonna make me a millionaire."

Joe remembered something and laughed.

"I guess if I had talked like this about strikes and wages when I was up front in France with my old outfit, I'll bet sure as hell some guy would have cut me down with a machine gun." Then he smiled. "Come to think of it," he said, "the way I used to feel then, I might have pulled the trigger on myself."

When Joe was drafted, the newspapers were still splashing every strike all over the front pages. But as a worker and a union member, Joe figured that most of the stuff was exaggerated hot air. When some of his GI buddies started talking about "slapping those striking bastards into the Army," Joe even tried arguing with them, but he never seemed to convince anybody.

By the time Joe's outfit was in a staging area in England, sweating out the invasion of Europe, the talk about strikes had become more intense. Stuff like this:

"How do you like that? Another strike back home. What do those striking sons-of-bitches want now? Do they want blood? Those 4-F bastards don't even know there's a war on. They're back home living the life of Riley, making all the dough, buying new clothes and beautiful cars, going to night clubs, sleeping with our women. Why don't they bring those bastards over here and stick them in on the invasion and let us go home?"

That was common talk. Those who kept quiet agreed with at least some of it. Even Pfc. Joseph Wadrzyk.

Joe was 39 years old and he was a rifleman in an infantry outfit and maybe he was going to die, and nobody wants to die.

"When you're tired and mad and scared like that," said Joe apologetically, "then it's tough to think straight."

Ralph G. Martin, a former combat correspondent for Stars and Stripes and Yank, covered the campaigns in Tunisia, Sicily, France and Germany. He has also contributed extensively to the New York Times Sunday Magazine Section. Before the war he was a newspaperman in Utah. Mr. Martin visited Detroit as correspondent for the New Republic, of which he has just become an assistant editor.

Besides it seemed like every time I picked up a paper or turned on a radio, there was another strike going on. It just seemed like too much, as if 90 percent of the workers in America were out on strike."

Several weeks later, Joe was sweating out a mortar barrage in a hole behind a hedgerow in France alongside the rest of the second squad of the second platoon of Company I of the 357th Regiment of the 90th Division. The hole was Joe's bedroom and his kitchen and his toilet, and the only time he left it was when he went on night patrol.

In the filth and the fear and the loneliness of the hedgerow war, America was a million miles away, a dream country of cake and ice cream and white sheets and hot baths and beautiful women, and everybody who was lucky enough to be there should be so thankful for it that he should work seven days and seven nights a week for nothing, and anybody who wanted to strike should be lined up against the wall and shot and lynched and tarred and feathered and hung by his testicles where everybody could see him.

That's what most front-line soldiers thought, almost what Joe was beginning to think. It was envy and ignorance and fear all mixed up. But the big thing was that there was nobody around to tell them different.

There was nobody to tell them that if all the workers back home were on strike, then who do you think was producing all the ships and planes and tanks and guns; there was nobody to give them the stark facts and figures about strikes, that they amounted to less than one-tenth of one percent, and even those were just as much the fault of management as of labor; there was nobody to tell them the relationship between prices and wages, to tell them that workers working overtime were too tired to go to night clubs, that there weren't any new cars to buy during wartime; there was nobody to ask them, "If you want to lynch the workers of America, then what the hell are you fighting for?"

Joe learned all these things after he was liberated from a German prison camp near Munich.

His first lesson came when his wife went down to Miami with him while he waited for reassignment. Joe felt rich because he had \$400 in accumulated back pay.

"And I just couldn't understand it," said Joe. "We didn't go to any night clubs or shows or anything like that. I didn't even buy any new clothes. Just normal, ordinary, everyday living. Yet before we knew it we were almost broke."

Joe's second lesson was when he came home after his discharge. Joe met up with some of his old buddies who had worked with General Motors during the war and he was surprised that none of them were rich. High prices had melted away their high wages.

And there was no "gravey" job waiting for Joe when he came back to General Motors. Instead of his old job of assembling 250 window regulators an hour, he was made a bender operator.

His job now is to pick up an eight-foot-long piece of steel, slap it into the mold, push down the valve handle and then throw the whole thing back on the assembly line. He does that four and a half times a minute and if he misses a minute to tighten his belt, then he does nine the next minute.

"But that was OK with me," said Joe. "I didn't want to be a window regulator any more. It gets damn monotonous doing the same job day after day for so long."

What Joe did object to, though, was getting 10 cents less an hour on this job. Ten cents an hour means 80 cents a day, \$4 more a week. That would pay for most of his monthly gas and electric bill, or for the telephone or for the gasoline every week or for one-third of the interest on his insurance.

"One of the few dreams we've got left," said Joe, "is that some day, somehow, we'll save up enough money to take a short trip to California, maybe even Mexico."

"And don't forget, Joe," said his wife, "we want to buy a house, too."

"Yeah," said Joe, "we wanna buy a house, just a small little house so we don't have to worry any more about being kicked out into the street in case we don't have enough money to pay the rent."

They were both quiet, thinking about that, and then Joe spoke up, sounding bitter.

"But do you know how much money we've got saved up in the bank now?" he asked. He stretched out his words slowly. "We don't even have enough money to buy me a new suit. We just don't have a goddam."

There was silence again and then his wife tried to cheer up the conversation. "Thank God we're healthy," she said. Then, laughing, "We sure eat enough."

She explained that she just didn't believe in saving too much money on food because she knew you couldn't work well if you didn't eat enough. She knew that because while Joe was in the Army she got a job as an inspector at one of the Ford plants. Then, when she got laid off, she started working for a printing concern making up bags for fertilizer, but that's only seasonal work and she wouldn't be going back for a few months.

As for Joe not getting any new clothes, they were so awful expensive and hard to get, she said. The only thing Joe had bought now was four pairs of underwear and it cost them \$7 and before the war it was only three pairs for a dollar, the same stuff. That's why when Joe came out of the prison camp 40 pounds lighter, she decided that instead of getting him new clothes, she'd just fatten him up until the old clothes fit. And she did. But now she's wondering whether that was such a smart idea after all, food prices being so high. Why, eggs cost her 59 cents a dozen from the farmer and at least 10 cents more than that in the grocery, and before the war they were only 39 cents. Even tuna fish used to cost her 35 cents a can and today she pays 46 cents.

Maybe we spend a lot of money on food, she explained, but we save money on other things.

Joe, who had been listening glumly, now broke in: "Yeah," he said, "we don't go to the movies at all now. It's lucky we don't care too much for the movies, isn't it, honey?"

She just nodded. She looked wistful.

"Another thing," said Joe, "what I can't understand is how some of my friends manage to raise children on the money they're making. Can you, honey?" he said, turning to his wife.

Joe went on to say that General Motors still hadn't answered the union argument that they could grant the 30-percent wage increase out of their old and new profits and still make more money than they ever made before. Even the latest government report agreed on that, said Joe. And it seemed logical to him that if the auto companies all gave a wage increase, more workers would have more money to buy cars.

"There's one big hitch," said Joe. "Even if the company does give me 12 bucks more a week, it won't mean a damn thing if they take the ceiling off of prices, because then we'll only pay more money for food and sure as hell they'll raise the rent and we'll be just as bad off as we are now.

"But on the other hand," he said, "if we don't get that wage increase and they take the ceiling off of

prices anyway, then I really don't know what the hell we'll do. I really don't. Do you, honey?" he said, turning to her again.

She was quiet for a minute, pursing her lips. "No, Joe," she said slowly, "I just don't know where we can start economizing. We can't find any place cheaper to live and still live decent. Of course, there's the telephone we can get rid of, but that won't help much, and besides I think I'd rather eat less than give that up."

"There's the car," said Joe. "I can always sell that, except I won't get much, and besides, it's like selling part of the family."

His wife tried to smile. "The only thing I can think of, Joe," she said, "is that we put the lights out a little earlier at night."

Another train was going somewhere in a hurry and the house trembled again and the train noise faded away slowly.

Then it was in a strained, hard voice that Joe said, "Now get this straight. I don't want to go out on strike. I'm not going to make any money while I'm striking. But if the company won't give us any more money, then the strike is the only weapon we've got left to use.

"I'm not asking for the moon," said Joe. "I just want to make a decent living."

The Guaranteed Annual Wage

by John Perry

ON DECEMBER 1, 1944, William H. Davis informed President Roosevelt that the War Labor Board was up a tree. The United Steelworkers of America had demanded a guaranteed annual wage of the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation, the case had come before the Board and the Board did not know what to do with it. Labor, industry and public members of the Board unanimously recommended that the President appoint a special commission to make a study of the guaranteed annual wage on a national scale.

The Steelworkers asked that all employees who had been with the company for three months or more be guaranteed 40 hours' pay each week, 50 weeks a year, plus vacations; overtime worked in any one week could not be credited against working time in a later week. The Board thought that this would subject the company to serious financial risks, but recognized that "a

guaranteed annual wage is one of the main aspirations of American workers. The search for it is part of the search for continuity of employment, which is perhaps the most vital economic and social objective of our times."

The idea of a guaranteed annual wage is not new, but in the past it has been introduced by progressive or paternalistic management, rather than by labor. Though several hundred union contracts have embodied some guarantee provisions, the cases have been widely scattered, covering few workers. Early this year the Department of Labor reported on agreements covering eight million workers; only 42,500 of them had contracts providing some form of guarantee, and 30,000 of these were in trade and service industries.

But now many unions have adopted the guaranteed annual wage as a major postwar target. In addition to the Steelworkers, the Farm Equipment Workers and United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers have included wage guarantees in recent contract demands. Walter P. Reuther of the United Automobile Workers says the guarantee is an economic necessity for his industry. The 1944 convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union directed its executive

John Perry, formerly special assistant to the Director of Foreign Agricultural Relations and Acting Chief of the Food Branch of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, is now a business consultant specializing in food matters.

board to study guarantee plans and make proposals.

Until now, most labor men have approached the guarantee idea with heavy suspicion, wary of anything an employer might voluntarily offer. There was no fixed-guarantee plan, and many of the variations were concealed attacks on wage rates or on union organization itself. But most union men now believe that, while bad plans are bad, there can and should be good ones.

The guaranteed annual wage is a major step toward security. A vast number of industrial workers lose their jobs each year when plants shut down. They may expect to be called back to work after inventory or retooling or when the next models go into production, but they have no assurance. Job-hunting becomes an annual problem and annual income an unknown quantity. Other workers are in occupations where steady work is the exception rather than the rule. Their work-year is made up of a number of short-term jobs, and they never know in January if they will be able to pay June's rent.

The CIO says frankly that it wants the annual wage to force business into a position where continuity of production becomes an economic necessity. "In the past, wage-earners have had to bear the terrific cost of the failure of employers to run industry at full speed," the CIO executive board declares:

If employers bore this cost, we are confident they would find ways to provide work and that they would support any government action needed to provide a general framework for full employment. We are only asking what others already have. A company pays for land and buildings by the year. It plans its dividends to stockholders by the year. It pays for much advertising space and for insurance by the year. It pays its officers and plant managers by the year. It sets aside money each year to buy new machines to replace the old. Why should it not plan to pay wage-earners by the year too?

THE STEELMAKERS' demand was simple enough. But there are many other forms of guarantee, proposed and operating, often marvelous in their complexity. A few, taken at random, have these basic clauses: an agreement which limits to a fixed total sum the payments to be made by the employer for idle time in any one year; an agreement offering the guarantee to only a part of the workers in a plant; only designated workers in key jobs enjoy a guarantee; employment is guaranteed for only 40 weeks in the year; pay for only 300 hours of idle time is guaranteed. (Thus if the plant operates only three months—520 hours—workers will receive pay for only 820 hours); 2,080 hours a year (52 weeks) are guaranteed, but pay for idle hours is at a reduced scale; 2,080 hours are guaranteed, but overtime hours are included in the computation.

Under the guise of guarantees, an amazing array of plans have been written into contracts. Typical is one which, in fancy language, allows the employer to void

the guarantee if he finds that he can't comply with it. Several provide that the employee draw "wage advances" during layoffs or short time, but must pay them back when he returns to full time. A few set up a fund to which workers and employer contribute, out of which wages are paid during shutdowns. Some guarantee 52 paychecks, but guarantee the pay-scale only four weeks in advance; the worker laid off for less than four weeks draws full pay, but after that may be cut to a lower scale, set at the employer's option. The familiar "two weeks' notice" is a kind of guarantee, and in some agreements the employer promises several weeks' advance notice of layoffs.

EMPLOYERS often have offered annual wage guarantees in exchange for reductions in hourly wage rates. In highly erratic industries such as the building trades, unions might be inclined to allow some reduction in hourly rates, provided there was a marked rise in annual earnings. The CIO has made it clear that it wants the annual wage as an addition to labor's gains, not as a substitute for any of them.

The three best known plans in operation are those of Procter and Gamble, Nunn-Bush Shoe Company and George A. Hormel and Company. P and G guarantees workers with two years' service not less than 48 weeks' employment each year, less time lost for holiday closings, sickness, disability, vacations with pay and voluntary absence, or because of fire, flood, strike or any other emergency. The company may reduce to 30 the hours guaranteed in any week, transfer a worker to another job at the prevailing scale for that job, discharge a worker at any time or void the guarantee upon due notice. The guarantee is not embodied in a union agreement, and the company says it would refuse to put it into a union contract. The plan has been operating since 1923.

Nunn-Bush, thanks to Henry L. Nunn, has pioneered in dozens of new management-labor relationship ideas. It is a union shop, but the union is unaffiliated. The contract provides 90 percent of the shoe company's employees an annual income payable in weekly instalments. Wages aren't fixed. Instead, the company turns over 20 percent of the wholesale value of the products produced to a pool, from which employees draw shares based on a complicated formula. Thus no single craft can increase its earnings unless it joins with others to get more than a 20-percent share, or unless it reduces the share of other crafts. Thus workers share in the business fortunes of the company, good or bad. Essential to the plan is the production of goods for stock, up to set limits, when sales fall off.

The Hormel plan also has intricacies developed to meet the special problems of the packing industry. It provides 52 nearly equal pay checks a year. But, since meat-packing depends on the variable flow of livestock to the market, weekly working hours can't be fully

stabilized. Operating improvements have done much to modify the fluctuation, and the Hormel worker will rarely put in more than 53 hours. Below this level, hours worked over and under 40 are balanced off. The plan includes incentive-pay and profit-sharing features. It is embodied in a contract with the United Packing-house Workers. President Jay C. Hormel says the union is essential to the plan's success.

All three of these pioneer plans have incurred one unexpected hazard: a stampede of students, deputations, commissions and rubberneckers. All three have been weighed, smelled, tasted, dissected and sounded by dozens of investigators. And while one is a non-union agreement, one is with an unaffiliated union and one is with a CIO local, there is surprising unanimity among investigators of all complexions. The plans work; the management likes them; the workers like them; the local communities like them. Hormel claims, and most investigators agree, that the plan has helped make Austin, Minnesota, a town of attractive homes and few bad debts.

But it must be noted that the plans began on a note of harmony, with willingness on the part of management to seek answers to many problems and to listen to labor's ideas. The plants concerned are relatively small. And while the plans have worked well for the workers employed, there is no evidence that they have expanded employment. Productivity per worker appears to have increased.

BUSINESSMEN and their organizations have given full recognition to the desirability of the guaranteed annual wage, but few of them would readily go along with the CIO's version of it. The American Management Association says the plan can work in more industries than is generally believed, but adds that firm guarantees are possible only where they are least needed, and vice versa.

"If I can't sell my products, I don't have need for workers to make them," says the businessman. "If I don't need workers to work, why should I have to pay them for doing nothing?" He would shift the hazard of unemployment to the worker or the government. Congress, in rejecting the Kilgore bill providing more adequate unemployment compensation, refused to let government assume the hazard. So the individual worker is left as the chief economic risk-taker.

Certainly some businesses would be bankrupted by a guarantee of a full year's pay to their workers. A cannery open for three months cannot carry a payroll for twelve. Few businessmen would willingly agree to guarantee wages for a longer period than they can predict sales. Even the pioneers of the annual-wage plan insist that it is workable only when the businessman can see ahead and be sure of a profit.

But these pioneers have also shown that most businessman can do much more than they have done to

stabilize employment in their industries. Procter and Gamble had a wildly fluctuating sales curve before 1920, despite the relatively stable consumer demand for its products. It set up an entirely new distribution system. Nunn-Bush developed new pricing policies and the principle of producing for stock. Hormel broke down the compartmentalization of departments to spread work throughout the plant, and developed new products. Other companies, often for their own rather than their employees' benefit, have been able to persuade customers to buy systematically, have gone into off-season enterprises or have introduced seasonal price changes to stabilize demand.

Some employers may justifiably contend that they could not guarantee an annual wage under present conditions—but many of them could change conditions if they chose, though they may need government aid.

What about the plant turning out automobile components? It is at the mercy of the auto-makers. If they choose to buy unpredictably and insist on quick deliveries, the parts-maker will be on a roller-coaster. Or consider the broader problem of autos and steel. The steelmakers might be willing to even out production, but only if the auto companies take the steel as it is produced. The auto-makers snort and reply that if steel is going to be stored, the steel men will store it.

Many industries are at the mercy of others. Many individual plants might be willing to try stabilization, but are not big enough to buck industrywide trade practices. "How much help government will have to give depends on how much business can do itself," says the CIO. The labor men suggest industrywide planning, inter-industry production programs and community planning for exchange of workers in seasonal industries.

If business cannot or will not do the job, labor insists that government do it. Many businessmen think they will need government aid and would not shriek "Socialism!" if the aid seemed reasonable. But government's role isn't all clear. Legislation to make the guaranteed annual wage compulsory? That could do little more than create havoc. Few businesses would be able to comply with such an order unless positive guidance, industrywide planning and financial aid were forthcoming. Government could apply pressure through new tax policies, penalizing companies with an erratic work record, aiding those which kept their men on the rolls. Certainly that would help bring businesses into line, but it would injure firms engaged in activities which cannot be stabilized. Some experts contend the whole idea is unworkable unless government underwrites wage payments; otherwise the plan will collapse when it is most needed—in a period of decline.

THE TRUTH of the matter seems to be that the guaranteed annual wage is a swell idea, but no one has enough facts to show how it can be spread throughout industry. Labor's efforts have thus far resulted in a

wide variety of plans, some good, some bad, but all tailor-made for the industries and companies in which they operate. Not one of the existing plans could be transplanted intact to another industry.

Is it possible that, in certain industries, a guarantee plan would increase the annual wages of the workers covered, but drive into virtual unemployment others who now draw some income from these industries? Would broadening the guarantee plan create two classes of workers: those with a vested interest in assured employment and those shut out, able to pick up only occasional work? Does it make sense, from business' and labor's viewpoints, to stabilize in the building trade by cutting hourly rates but boosting annual income? Could auto production be stabilized by price adjusting, reducing the sale prices of cars toward the

end of the model-year? Can the plan work in anything but a framework of full employment?

Questions like these stumped the War Labor Board and prompted President Roosevelt to order a national study of the guaranteed annual wage. Unfortunately that study, ordered eight months ago, has not yet been made. Although two excellent men—Murray Latimer, chairman of the Railroad Retirement Board, and Arthur S. Meyer, chairman of the New York State Mediation Board—have been appointed to conduct it, the present obstacle is funds. But no request for a special appropriation has as yet gone to Congress. If the study does not get under way soon, the Administration will face a most embarrassing predicament. It wants to work out a national labor policy, but policy-making on this important point is impossible without the facts.

After the Yugoslav Elections

by Ernst Pawel

THE SIGNIFICANCE of the Yugoslav elections extends far beyond constitutional changes or parties and personalities voted into power. What hangs in the balance is the social and economic structure of Yugoslavia and—indirectly—most of the Balkan countries. Current reports of large-scale terrorism and violence tend to obscure the radical nature of the changes which that part of the world is about to undergo. The recent resignation of Dr. Ivan Subasich, timed to bring into play the full force of Allied pressure as against that of the Soviet Union, has precipitated a crisis.

Yugoslavia at present is ruled by the Front of National Liberation under the leadership of Marshal Tito. Unlike its counterpart in other liberated countries, the Yugoslav Front is more than a loose coalition of resistance parties. Throughout 1943 and 1944, in spite of German occupation of the cities, local Partisan rule was said to have been effective in from 50 to 75 percent of the rural sections of the country—an estimate supported by British and American Intelligence. With the defeat of the Germans, the Front of National Liberation extended its control to the remainder of the country and thus achieved its present position of supremacy.

The Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation (AVNOJ), formed at Bihac on November 26, 1942, contained adequate representation of every major pro-

gressive and anti-fascist party in Yugoslavia. But the Communist Party, whose members occupied virtually all key positions in the Partisan Army, undoubtedly ran the show and has maintained its hold ever since. All the more significant is the adoption by the assembly of a platform which could be called anything but revolutionary. In addition to guarantees of democratic freedom and private property, it pledged AVNOJ to "provide every possible opportunity for individual initiative in industrial and economic enterprises."

But in spite of such conservatism and professed government intentions, some revolutionary changes were brought about through factors inherent in the situation. The extensive and fine-meshed network of councils necessitated the active participation in the government of large masses of the population who never before had any political influence or faced the practical problems of local administration—especially since most of the old reactionary village politicians were disqualified for any jobs under the Front of National Liberation.

The series of reform laws of August 8, 1945, at least in theory, provide for:

Expropriation of all absentee landowners without compensation. This is to include all individual landowners as well as corporations, banks, commercial enterprises, and both the Orthodox and Roman Churches.

Definite limitation of the size of all individually owned farmlands, depending on kind of crops, nature of soil, etc., to from 50 to about 85 acres, with higher limits in mountainous areas.

Redistribution of all confiscated land and property on the basis of certified individual needs, with preference given to war victims.

Establishment on government-owned land of model

Before the war, Ernst Pawel carried on extensive studies in Yugoslavia. Later, as a member of the armed forces, he had a liaison assignment with the Partisans. He is now about to be discharged from the Army.

farms for the purpose of spreading the theory and practice of modern agricultural methods and instructing individual farmers as well as voluntary collectives.

The confiscation and expropriation of all property belonging to fascists, collaborationists and other "enemies of the people."

Communist-dominated or not, the Front of National Liberation has shown itself flexible enough to express the aspirations of a peasant majority in a set of progressive laws assuring it mass support. It has to its credit other achievements. For the first time in the history of Yugoslavia the complex national problem is about to be solved by a working federation of all nationalities replacing the prewar hegemony of Greater Serbia. It is a federation founded and consolidated in common armed struggle against the German occupation; emigré circles notwithstanding, the Serb element among Partisan leadership as well as the rank and file has at all times been at least equal to that of the Croats.

There remains the question of terrorism, coercion and military dictatorship. No one familiar with Partisan strong-arm methods during the war or conditions in Yugoslavia after the armistice will deny either. Political democracy in its accepted American definition does not exist in Yugoslavia today any more than it does in the Soviet Union, and for very much the same reasons. OZNA, the new Yugoslav State Police, in purpose, methods and organization is the equivalent of the Russian NKVD. But it is important to remember that in addition to a full-fledged military campaign against the German invaders, Yugoslavia since 1941 has seen a civil war against native reaction as violent and bloody as Spain's.

TO TRY to define present political cross-currents and tendencies in terms of prewar party alignments would be futile; both the Front of National Liberation and the opposition have cut through traditional party lines and rendered them meaningless. The majority of old-school politicians and public figures have thrown in their lot with the emigré opposition and committed the parties they used to boss to a similar course. At the same time, the rank and file of nearly all left-of-center parties has found representation within the Front of National Liberation. This holds true, for instance, of the once omnipotent Serbian Radical Party, founded by Nikola Pasich; most of its leaders—Momchilo Nincich, K. L. J. Miletich, Milos Trifunovich, and others—in exile since 1941, have fought the Partisans before their existence was ever known to the outside world. On the other hand, the party at present is permitted to operate openly inside Yugoslavia, and its new set of leaders ran for election on an independent ticket. The Democratic Party is in a similar position, although reports from opposition sources indicate that the Tito regime is having some trouble bringing local Democratic followers into line.

It is impossible to estimate the actual strength of the Serbian nationalist opposition inside Yugoslavia. Their official representative was the Chetnik leader Draža Mihailovich, nominated Minister of War in 1942 by the royalist government-in-exile, now under indictment by the Tito regime as a war criminal and collaborationist. Mihailovich's present whereabouts is unknown; Partisan circles in Italy charged the British at the time of Yugoslavia's liberation with having engineered the last-minute getaway of their erstwhile protégé with the idea of keeping him on ice for future reference. The first hint to substantiate this charge was dropped at a press conference held last October 16 in Washington by the president of the Serb National Federation, Louis C. Christopher. Mr. Christopher was quoted by the *New York Times* as indicating that reports of the British having established liaison with Mihailovich were true. Mihailovich undoubtedly is still something of a legendary figure in Yugoslavia, despite Partisan propaganda to the contrary. His actual following, variously estimated from ten to a hundred thousand men, has been decimated through the years, resulting in the shift of all Allied military aid to Marshal Tito's forces. The Chetniks were broken up as an organization, but their revival under a new name, *Krijaci* (Crusaders), has been claimed by emigré spokesmen.

The other important opposition bloc against the Tito regime is the Croat Peasant Party under Vladimir Machek. Before the war this organization amounted to a Croat movement of national liberation; its struggle was concentrated primarily against Greater Serb hegemony and the Belgrade dictatorship. During the German occupation Dr. Machek remained in Zagreb, apparently placed under house arrest by the fascist Ustashi. He left Zagreb shortly before it was liberated by Partisan forces, escaped to Salzburg and went from there to Paris, where, according to a report by C. L. Sulzberger in the *New York Times*, King Peter last month paid him a three-day visit in the course of which they reached an agreement pledging each other the fullest support. The motives that made Machek leave his country rather than justify his inactivity during the occupation and have now led him to support his former arch-enemies, could certainly bear further elucidation. How much is left of his former influence and popularity in Croatia remains to be seen.

The electoral laws under which Yugoslavia voted on November 11 embodied certain radical innovations. For the first time in the country's history all citizens over eighteen years of age could vote, regardless of race, creed, nationality or sex—a concession to youth which was bound to favor the Partisans. But the Federal Electoral Commission in Belgrade announced that 253,000 Yugoslavs have been disfranchised for "wrongs against the national honor" committed during the occupation. The same commission estimated the probable number of voters at more than eight million.

Considering the realities of the situation, the outcome of the elections was never in doubt. The opposition's only hope was last-minute Allied intervention on their behalf. This was the purpose of Subasich's well timed gesture and of the rising crescendo against Belgrade's dictatorial excesses. The opposition may have hoped to prevent the elections altogether. However, Anglo-American refusal to recognize the newly elected government on the ground that the elections were not carried out in a democratic manner, followed by economic sanctions, would serve their purposes equally well. And in the perhaps naïve hope of checking further Russian penetration of the Balkans, the United States and Britain seem to be playing the game.

Although recognition has not yet been withdrawn from Tito (no doubt in order to avoid further complications among the Big Three), active anti-Tito intervention seems already to be shaping up. The Ameri-

can ambassador in Belgrade, Richard C. Patterson, is reported by Sulzberger of the *New York Times* to be withholding all further aid from Tito with Washington's approval. Yugoslavia's economic situation is desperate; in addition to having lost approximately one million men and suffered devastation of land and property second to none in this war, the country had to put up with a serious crop failure which forced it to import at least 50,000 tons of wheat a month. The mere threat of economic sanctions by almost the only power able to render extensive help, certainly represents an effective means of intervention.

In part, at least, this pressure is offset by the presence on Yugoslav soil of sizable Russian forces and the continued support given Tito by Moscow. The latest visit to Belgrade by Andrei A. Zhdanov, political head of the Leningrad party district, was no doubt meant to reassure both Tito and the Allies on that score.

The Housing Shortage

by Miriam Borgenicht

HAVING BEEN EXPOSED to the same kind of mild indignation and desultory zeal that the Administration has lately offered for other important postwar issues, the housing situation is today in no better shape than it was three months ago, at which time it seemed clear that something would have to be done about it. Housing has been talked about, all right—in and out of Congress and government agencies. But for the average citizen, unimpressed by good intentions, the outlook is still that he may have no place to live next year, and will pay too much for it if he does.

Through all the talk about housing, the one point on which everyone is agreed is that there should be lots more of it. The National Housing Agency says 12.5 million non-farm houses are needed now; 1.5 million servicemen alone have married and presumably want homes right away. At best, this large order will take 10 years to fill; the construction industry has never turned out even a million units in any one year, and in 1946, mainly because of shortage of building materials, it cannot hope to complete more than 450,000.

However, to those who look back wistfully on the thirties as the years when they told prospective landlords they would think about it, it should be said at once that the current shortage is not simply a matter of lovesick GI's and no lumber. It is not even primarily

due to the lack of construction during the war, when we built only 2.5 million homes, or half a normal five-year total. The problem, actually, begins with the backlog stored up after World War I. By April, 1920, as the industry swarmed into a market for the upper brackets only, building materials were up 219 percent over 1914, 65 percent over November, 1918, levels. By 1925, rents were 66 percent above prewar levels, with 9 percent of that rise coming after the Armistice. With a need for seven million non-farm houses, we were still paying in 1940 for the crash that followed this and later booms.

There is plenty of evidence that the pressures this time are off to an even better start. The Federal Home Loan Bank Administration recently found West Coast sales of homes running 134 percent of earlier HOLC appraisals. An NHA survey found prices of single family units in several cities up 42 percent over 1940. The OPA found that in July, 1945, purchasers of homes from which tenants had been evicted because of sale paid 45 percent above the normal price, which is about 100 times the monthly rental. Any way you look at it, the cost of housing is high and going higher.

The real-estate industry has set up one of the loudest and toughest lobbies in Washington. Its members have done their job well. Immediately after V-J Day, they went for the scalp of L-41, the WPB order which channeled materials to houses costing \$8,000 or less. Here was the Administration's best tool for getting homes at moderate prices, and it was up to John W. Snyder, Director of the OWMR, to decide its fate.

During the war Miriam Borgenicht worked for the Federal Security Agency and the Office of Price Administration. She lives in Washington, D. C.

Newspaper readers remember the sparring that followed, with Price Administrator Bowles and others pulling for L-41, and Hugh Potter, Texas real-estate man who was then adviser to Mr. Snyder, heading the off-with-controls team. Newspaper readers remember, too, which side spoke to Mr. Snyder last.

THE SEQUEL followed promptly. On October 16, the day after L-41 was lifted, Representative Patman told of a Washington, D. C., builder—one who had stormed vigorously against the order—who had made \$50,000 overnight. He raised the price of 50 new homes, all built under the \$8,000 price limit, to \$9,000. Another builder in Miami had upped his price on a single home from \$8,000 to \$16,000. And these cases were simply the beginning.

Poker-faced before evidence of such gyrations, the real-estate interests still declare that our greatest post-war industry should be turned over to them with no strings attached—that, indeed, rent and materials ceilings should be discarded too. To make sure of holding on to existing controls and to map out new ones, a series of inter-agency meetings was held throughout the fall, at most of which it was decided that Mr. Snyder would not decide anything until the following Tuesday. Finally, still deferring judgment, Snyder appointed a three-man committee—National Housing Administrator Blandford, Chester Bowles and Judge Collet, the new OES director—who reported that legislation was needed to set ceilings on the sale price of homes. Their proposal was a mild one and offered profit on a cost-plus basis generous enough to satisfy even the National Association of Real Estate Boards and Senator Taft. According to it, ceilings on new homes would be set sufficiently high to cover all legal costs of production plus a wide profit margin to builder or developer. On an old house, the first price at which it was sold after passage of the legislation would become the ceiling. This was meant to hold off the speculator whose activities may add a zero to the sale price of a house but not even a paint job to its exterior.

Though congressmen like Wagner, Ellender and Patman have spoken strongly on the subject, no one has yet introduced the proposed legislation; before Congress is the wreckage of too many bills which the Administration wanted but for which no one would put up a fight. And this time, possibly, even less help could be expected, with the Administration in the anomalous position of asking for power which just one month before it had decided to yield. The issue was aired, therefore, before a complaint subcommittee of the Senate Small Business Committee. Pressed for his long awaited opinion here, Mr. Snyder said, surprisingly, that he was “not familiar” with details of the proposed legislation. A week later, speaking before a Chamber of Commerce meeting, he ran out on the idea altogether.

At the time of this writing, then, not much has been offered a public braced for an eviction notice or digging in for the long struggle with an overblown mortgage. Rent control obviously cannot help much if the only vacancy listed is one for sale. Control on building materials and contractors' services cannot prevent the builder, once the house is up, from selling it for all the traffic will bear. Finally, there is nothing, even in the proposed ceilings on finished homes, to see that these are built where they are most needed, which is in the low and medium-price range. The NHA estimates that two-thirds of the non-farm dwellings called for in the next 10 years must cost \$5,000 or less. The *Architectural Forum* said last September that 2.7 million families are good prospects for buying or building in the immediate future—and that 70 percent have incomes under \$4,000. If their houses cost \$1,000 more than they are counting on, 49 percent will step out of the market.

The market, of course, knows it can get along fine without them today: lumber, cast-iron soil pipe, hardwood flooring and other products without which a builder can't proceed past his blueprint are still in critically short supply. However, worry number one for housing experts is the knowledge that, even with labor and materials bottlenecks eased, builders will not voluntarily aim at these lower income groups. There is nothing in the past history or present conduct of the industry to indicate that, with demand running five times ahead of supply, builders will forgo quick killings today for stability tomorrow.

LONG-RANGE prospects, of course, would look much better after passage of the Wagner-Ellender bill for slum clearance and urban redevelopment, scheduled for hearings before the Senate Finance Committee on November 13. This bill provides for 125,000 units for low-cost public housing a year during a four-year period—a big jump over the 105,000 units now existing. It also offers inducement to industry to build for the neglected middle-income groups. But for next month or next year, the shoddy design that is multiplied on ten thousand city blocks, the building codes that postpone progress, the techniques that discourage mass production—these are all matters, along with price, that need attention. And this attention, like lumber, is also in critically short supply. The fact is that to the veterans whose Bill of Rights promises homes at “reasonable normal values,” to the three million families who are living doubled up, to the seven million in substandard dwellings, to the anticipated 225,000 due for eviction in 1945 (as against 73,500 in 1943), and, indeed, to all those who see the connection between decent housing and democracy, a good deal more action still seems to be in order. It may seem to these groups debatable at what point a national shortage becomes a national shame.

Washington Notes

Atomic Age: Microscopic Thinking

WORLD EVENTS are now moving so rapidly that the United Nations Organization already seems out of date in some particulars and the new internationalist-isolationist battle is forming on different lines. Dr. Leo Szilard, one of the prominent nuclear physicists, testified here last week that Edward Stettinius, ex-Secretary of State, knew about The Bomb during the San Francisco Conference. At any rate, the knowledge apparently did not affect the parley's decisions. Harold Stassen, in a strong speech last week, publicly advocated revision of the UNO, which he helped to create, in the light of The Bomb. Did he know about The Bomb when he voted for the big powers' veto in the UNO? Senator Ball made a similar speech. Both men pointed out that nationalism is dangerously out of date, and that some form of world government to control The Bomb is required. The current Attlee-King-Truman talks have raised the same great issues. Here a whole new world of argument opens up, with new isolationist lines forming in Congress.

Under normal conditions, the unanimous recommendation of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that the American representative on the UNO Council be authorized to vote for use of American troops, if necessary to enforce peace, would have been sensational news. It hardly made the first page. Why? Because, in effect, the coming of The Bomb—just in the few months since San Francisco—has raised vastly greater problems. America is going to be represented on the Council all right, and our delegate will be allowed to vote for use of American troops. By that victory, the internationalists have occupied a whole province. But compared to the problems looming ahead, this success already seems dated. What about The Bomb; how about national sovereignty; can we get world government?

In these issues the pioneering is apt to be done by vigorous young independents like Stassen and Ball; by the new association of 1,000 atomic scientists whose leaders held a press conference here last week, demanding control on the world level, and by pressure groups outside Washington. Leadership may come from Attlee and King, rather than from Truman. Truman is not an idea man. Little that he has done since taking office shows any bold, imaginative scope, though there is much to indicate that, if presented with a broad conception, he is willing to treat it sympathetically. I do not mean to criticize when I say that he is still coasting along on the New Deal program. Very little has been added. Perhaps there are enough ideas left in the Roosevelt estate to last for four years, maybe eight. But on the subject of The Bomb, Mr. Truman seems as confused as anyone. His new statement on atomic energy and international affairs has not been forthcoming, and the official position is still that it is "a sacred trust."

The new isolationism is, of course, that The Bomb is a "sacred trust," and that America should hang on to the so-called secret and yield no whit of sovereignty. It is

doubtful if the majority realizes it is playing into isolationist hands in some of the things it does, such as adding strings to American generosity, like the House rider on the \$550 million UNRRA appropriation, making the money contingent on free access to news, or driving a harsh bargain with the British—our past ally and friend—after abruptly ending Lend-Lease. The world is drowning and America has most of the life-preservers, but atomic thinking has advanced so little that we still think in terms of interest rates when we launch our rescue crew.

The real isolationists know perfectly well what they are doing. They will fight on UNRRA, the British debt and at every other opportunity. Make no doubt about it, they regard this Pearl Harbor investigation as a heaven-sent opportunity. Unquestionably Pearl Harbor should be investigated and responsibility allocated for the mistakes made there. But the isolationists, the Patterson-McCormick crowd, are attempting to present it as a Roosevelt betrayal that "lied" us into the war. They hope for the same cynical revulsion that followed World War I.

The GOP has started its all-out, personal attack on Truman, and it will probably continue during the 1946 congressional elections and into the 1948 presidential race. Hitherto, Republicans have found that attacks on the President backfired, but there is a slashing, vitriolic, personal assault on him in the current party monthly publication, the *Republican News*, synchronized with GOP speeches in Congress. Newspaper writers think it forecasts the bitterness of the next national campaign.

To date, the labor-management conference has been chiefly notable for the ganging-up on Philip Murray by Green, Lewis and the employers, over the wage question. It is hard to see how industrial peace can be achieved by conference when labor knows that each day weakens its relative bargaining position and when taxes on corporations are so arranged as to stimulate non-production. The excess-profits tax (rising to 85 percent of profits) goes off January 1, so why not hold up production until then, when the labor market will be easier? Furthermore, in 1946, the government will refund earlier excess-profits taxes if a corporation suffers losses in the reconversion period. One estimate is that GM could let its income drop to nothing in 1946 and still collect \$100 million from the Treasury in such refunds. So let the workers strike!

Notes.—After two years, the United States Court of Claims has now, unanimously, ruled unconstitutional the House action banning Professor Robert Morss Lovett, Dr. Goodwin B. Watson and William E. Dodd from federal jobs; this "bill of attainder" was one of the sour fruit of the Dies Committee: "a shocking and outrageous injustice," said Judge Madden in a concurring opinion. . . . Every editorial writer, be he conservative or radical, must realize that he, too, is affected by the new action of the Committee on Un-American Activities investigating and harassing seven radio commentators, including Raymond Swing; what can be done to radio commentators can be done to columnists, reporters and editorial writers.

Washington

T. R. B.

The Ballet Theatre

Ballet Theatre, presented by S. Hurok. Metropolitan Opera House.

WELL INTO ITS FIFTH SEASON, Ballet Theatre (which has just ended its current engagement) has been playing to an enthusiastic audience with sufficient discrimination to lend weight to its enthusiasm. The lack of the special glamor contributed last year by such stars of the older tradition as Toumanova, Riabouchinska and Lichine, has, of course, been felt. Nana Gollner, Roselle Hightower and other members of the company are noticeably absent. The orchestra, which is pitifully small for some of its tasks, has occasionally fallen into a thin and piping disorder which made one wish it could be dispensed with altogether. But the fervor displayed by both dancers and audience has compensated for a good deal.

Moreover, the young Americans in the company have now burst out of the chrysalis of subordination and begun to exhibit their quality and character as a group. Alicia Alonso, Nora Kaye, Harold Lang and John Kriza, to name only the most outstanding, fill the stage with their sheer physical prowess. They are all young, lithe, immensely energetic and possessed of a technical equipment equal to all contingencies, though they tend to exhibit the virtues of ardor, precision and a kind of dazzling agility rather than the subtlety, individuality and refinement of line that characterize the greater European dancers.

Dancing by the latter group has been meager. Dolin is no longer equal to the physical demands made by such parts as Albrecht in "Giselle," and his accomplished miming fails to cover his deficiencies, except, perhaps, in such roles as his thoroughly enjoyable, stamping, rollicking "Bluebeard." Eglevsky has been consistently superb, not only in his masterful dancing but in his amazing, almost robotlike capacity for complete dedication to the task in hand. Markova, who appeared tired and indifferent at first, came to life after a bad week to perform with all her magically radiant virtuosity in "Giselle," "Sylphides" and "Pas de Quatre."

The factor that seems to divide the dancers who participated directly in the Russian renaissance from all others is the palpable impress of a common style so distinguished and perfected in itself as to provide a counterpoint that enables them not merely to fulfill a role, but to transcend it. Each uses the style differently. Eglevsky is molded by it to his fingertips so that the powerful impetus that generates his thrilling turns and entrechats is completely contained within its brilliant tracery. His training is an adequate substitute for the intrinsic personality he lacks, but he remains incapable of variety and without dramatic ability. Danilova uses the Russian style to express an amplitude of emotion that transforms the most innocuous sequence of steps into grand, and sometimes grandiose, poetry. Markova brings to it the miracle of an independent intelligence that never stops functioning. This faculty of seeming creation in motion gives one the sensation that, at each instant, she is consciously selecting, from all the basic style affords, the one disposition of her body that most adorns the sequence she is executing.

The effect of the Russian style was visible in two performances of "Giselle," one with Markova and one with

Alicia Alonso in the title role of the peasant girl who goes mad and dies when her lover turns out to be a nobleman in disguise, betrothed to someone else. Alonso danced the part with a strength and forthright emotion that made one, at the moment, think Markova's performance fragile and artificial. Yet, later, it was difficult to recall Alonso's interpretation. The stylized, consciously wrought performance of Markova left one with an unforgettable, completed imagery of the part as a whole.

But the dancers of Ballet Theatre have a style of their own that generates its own values if the vehicles for it are judiciously selected. "Petrouchka" is beyond the scope of the present company. The hectic, interrupted movements of the crowd at the fair must be shaped into a glittering mosaic of reality against which the tortured drama of the puppets takes on the significance of a nightmare breaking into actuality. If the movements are not performed with perfectly organized coordination, as they were not, the result is a chaos that absorbs the actions of the puppets and diminishes their intensity. Michael Kidd, however, played the role of the struggling, lovelorn puppet with surprising authority. Massine makes Petrouchka an anguished, trapped-animal figure assailed by rudimentary self-consciousness. Kidd turns the puppet into a neurotic, highly conscious being, the victim of his own introverted frenzy, and makes his version convincing. Lucia Chase is excellent as the puppet ballerina, particularly good in the way she recoils in mechanical fright from the antics of Petrouchka and is drawn to the mindless magnetism of the Blackamoor Eglevsky dances the Blackamoor skillfully but is unable to project the mute, sinister simplicity of Petrouchka's savage antagonist. "Firebird," with new choreography by Adolph Bolm, was an even greater misfortune, both because of the weakness of Mr. Bolm's static patterns and the failure of the corps to do justice to whatever merit they had. The orchestra struggled valiantly but ineffectually with the Stravinsky scores for both pieces. Perhaps Chagall's opulent, blazingly colorful sets for "Firebird" were adequate consolation for those who admire his painting unreservedly.

Toward the new compositions, there has been somewhat more critical indulgence than is necessary. Simon Semenov's "Gift of the Magi" was an inflated, inept effort to convey a trivial plot through a series of convulsive wriggles. Lukas Foss's music, whatever other virtues it may have had, certainly did not belong with this or any ballet. The set by Raoul Pène du Bois was likable, but it covered entirely too much stage with too much affectation. "On Stage," by Michael Kidd, dealt mawkishly with the handyman of a ballet company who helps a shy aspirant make good. It is, for the most part, vigorously uninventive and contains much of the maladroitness self-mockery in which ballet has long indulged. This is nearly always vulgar and should certainly be deeded over to the current exponents of the Fanny Brice tradition. Kidd danced the prop-juggling routines of the handyman in a style similar to that of Buddy Ebsen, though more elaborate and less amusing. Janet Reed, who was wildly applauded as the feminine lead, is a competent dancer who uses conspicuously understated, but none the less irksome, mannerisms as a substitute for acting.

The choreography of Jerome Robbins is something altogether unique in ballet. In every art today, particularly

those of stage and screen, there exists a backlog of devices, tricks and effects at the disposal of anyone with a memory. The files of the gag-writer render even this faculty superfluous. If enough items are selected from diverse quarters and combined with confusing assertiveness, the result is a guaranteed success. Unlike "Fancy Free," Mr. Robbins' hit of last year, his new "Interplay" has no plot. Very much like it, indeed, is the way in which the ghosts of innumerable dead movements from Broadway, Hollywood and ballet flit through its violently paced ten minutes. "Fancy Free" broke down into dullness whenever original, purposive choreography was required. Covered by its title, "Interplay" shifts its ground too quickly to be similarly trapped. The music for "On Stage" by Norman dello Joio and for "Interplay" by Morton Gould seemed pleasant, proficient and not quite so individual or well adapted to ballet as Leonard Bernstein's score for "Fancy Free." The sets for all three are by Oliver Smith, whose design is motivated by an intelligent modern eclecticism, influenced by Mondrian, slightly sensational and somewhat lacking in character.

In general, Ballet Theatre uses its fine array of talent to most advantage in pieces that require the least in the way of poetic individuality in the stars and meticulous precision in the ensemble, notably the early Fokine ballet and the compositions of Tudor and Balanchine. Tudor's "Pillar of Fire" and "Undertow" both have a gripping, dramatic unity that gives the necessary directive force to the untrammelled technical strength and vitality of the dancers. They remain impressively consummated efforts to give ballet greater psychological meaning, although "Undertow" seems to waste too much energy trying to evoke spectral concepts.

Nearly all the later Balanchine ballets could be done admirably by the principals of the company. "Waltz Academy" was indeed performed by them with verve and skill, but the ensemble was unable to cope with Balanchine's hair-trigger synchronization of movement and music. By some peculiar law of uneven artistic development, it turned out to be Balanchine's "Apollo," composed nearly twenty years ago, that was the outstanding triumph of the season and seemed expressly created for those who performed in it. The roles of Apollo and the three Muses were danced by Eglevsky, Nora Kaye, Barbara Fallis and Alicia Alonso with preternatural attention to their difficult nuances, at an elevated pitch of technical efficiency that never interfered with the sustained development of mood. Although "Apollo" is as ingenious, as rich in felicitous incidents as his later ballets, in it Balanchine never allows the choreographic design to edge away from the unfolding poetic insight. Every variation expresses a new possibility in the relations between Apollo and the Muses, deepening the fundamental emotion and amplifying the myth through the proper mode of the dance while using only its simplest literary elements: the birth of Apollo, the assignment of their respective arts to the Muses and the final ascent to Parnassus. If, as has been claimed, "Apollo" is stamped by the style of the late Diaghilev period, then all that can be said is that this style was a perfectly forged instrument for Balanchine's purpose, a valid neo-classicism in which the expressive and formal elements are perfectly balanced, the moment stressed and integrated into the whole and the design completely wedded to the articulated content.

WILLIAM POSTER

A Communication

Our Negro Soldiers

SIR: On June 29, 1945, in the course of an argument against the FEPC bill, Senator Eastland of Mississippi asserted that American Negro soldiers in this war have disgraced their country in that they would neither work nor fight. He claimed he had evidence to prove that the Negro 92nd Division had been a dismal failure, that not a single Negro officer in it had proved competent to lead men in battle. Then he passed on to the familiar assertion of Negro racial inferiority.

Intelligent Southerners long since have learned to discount all fact-assertions based on race hatred and to ignore their resultant conclusions. The twin objectives of giving the Southern whites more genuinely liberal education and the Southern Negroes more self-confidence and pride of race (the two greatest needs today) are best approached with a minimum of agitation and controversy. But the *Congressional Record* is read in all sections of the nation, and as yet no specific answer to Senator Eastland has found general circulation. Hence this reply, based upon a lifetime of experience with Negroes in Virginia, New York City, Tennessee, Chicago and Florida, and upon service (at my request) with Negro troops during the current war.

Eastland's speech was made on the fourth day following General Patton's official commendation of the 3603rd Engineer Dump Truck Company (Negro) for outstanding performance in clearing and grading approaches to the Rhine River bridge. This was working under fire without opportunity to use cover or to shoot back—the hardest situation of all for even the most experienced soldier. The 3603rd left the United States in late February, 1945, and won commendation less than 60 days later. A few days after his speech, Lieutenant Vernon J. Baker, a rifle platoon leader in the 92nd Division, was awarded the DSC—the third Negro to receive this honor in that theatre.

General Clark cited the Negro 450th Anti-Aircraft Battalion for outstanding performance in the landing at Naples. Negro Combat Engineers, Anti-Aircraft, Engineer Service, Coast Artillery, Quartermaster, Air Service and Infantry troops have received unit citations and commendations in both European and Pacific theatres of operation. Emphatically the generals have not agreed with the Senator.

Eastman's charges against the 92nd Division are particularly despicable because he adroitly uses a partial truth to buttress assertions which fall when the whole truth is known. The 92nd has a spotty record, as have several white divisions. Reliable reports indicate that a strong German counter-attack pummeled it in one North Italian engagement, but it did not break nearly so badly as white divisions did under similar conditions at the Kasserine Pass and again in the neighborhood of Bastogne.

It is remarkable that would-be critics of the Negro soldier regularly ignore our other Negro division, the 93rd, which has done extraordinarily fine fighting in the Pacific

islands, and whose record in World War I is described in an official Army publication as "one of the noblest of American arms," where each of its regiments was decorated as a whole or in part with Croix de Guerre with palm, as well as with hundreds of individual citations.

The Regular Army long has recognized that the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry are crack outfits, not excelled by any of our Regulars. All four regiments rendered distinguished service in the Spanish American War and World War I. All have been used at key spots through this war.

In either a fighting or a working situation the reactions of Negroes are about the same as those of white people of similar economic status and social opportunity. That is: If there is a fight in sight, curiosity and excitement will draw them in with too little regard for danger; but if work is to be done, away from the excitement of conflict, they will work well or poorly accordingly to how they have recently been treated and how much loyalty and confidence they repose in their leaders. To be fair, however, we must compare the Negro troops with a definite class of white troops.

About six-sevenths of the Negro troops come from areas in which equal educational opportunities, equal pay for equal work and opportunity to work at skilled trades are denied them. So far as it can be accomplished, pride and self-respect also are denied them by political discrimination, social ostracism and the common use of epithets which pound into most of them a hopeless feeling of inferiority.

More than half of them come from rural districts of the South where the land is poor, schools few and far between, wages low and appreciation of education small. While a large proportion have good basic intelligence, they are drastically handicapped by the lack of even elementary schooling. They were taken from school as soon as they were old enough to pick berries, chop cotton, weed onions, hoe corn, pick cotton or slash tobacco; this because their families were so poor that their earnings were needed. Similar conditions had precluded education for their parents before them.

About three-fourths of the urban 40 percent come from families struggling in the poorest segment of the industrial population, still relatively new to their environment, impoverished, baffled and to some degree intimidated.

So the vast majority of our colored inductees are men who have grown up ignorant, superstitious, unused to consecutive thinking, unacquainted with the world, frightened and homesick when away from their childhood settings, shiftless, unreliable, evasive—and sullen under criticism or correction because they have been given no incentive to improve.

Now these traits, usually noted in underprivileged Negroes, are precisely the traits which are marked among very poor people everywhere. We find the same characteristics among the "poor whites" of the mountain pockets in the Alleghenies, among the white sharecroppers of the Deep South, among the Okies, and among the very poor in our city slums. We in the Army have found that there are exceedingly few traits which can properly be ascribed to the Negro race as racial traits. The handicaps of our Negro troops are handicaps from successive generations of poverty, not of race. When we have recognized this, have ceased to

think of them as Negroes and have learned to regard them as poor people in need of opportunity, we have taken the first and longest step toward making them good soldiers and good citizens.

It must be admitted that, thus far, the Negro's life in America has given him very little to fight for. When one asked me, "How come white folks is fightin' Hitler for treatin' the Jews jes' lak they treats us?" I could find no adequate answer in any Army regulation or textbook. They must have an answer—and it can be provided by the Army.

This can be done, but many officers—both white and colored—refuse to do it. Any officer who lives their life with them, eating in the same mess, sleeping in the area, attending their chapel, visiting their dayrooms, buying in their exchanges and showing interest in their sports and social activities, soon finds that these men are passionately eager for pride, self-respect and friends to whom they can give trust and loyalty. Those are the things Negroes will work for, eagerly fight for, gladly die for. I know. I have seen them do all three.

Negro recruits to whom the Army has been presented mainly by the reading of the Articles of War and Army Regulations, with ill explained enforcement of the disciplines therein prescribed, have yielded reluctant response. But present the United States Army to them as a great fraternity in which men of all races, creeds and colors come together as equal brothers in the uniform, its distinctions of rank based honestly upon training and accomplishment—and they respond with eagerness. By their response they have put upon us the duty to make that Army ideal permanent.

From every continent and sea are returning the thousands of Southern white officers who have developed a solid respect for their Negro troops and are determined that henceforth these must receive in our country the rights, privileges and opportunities which they have helped to preserve for the rest of us.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN H. SHERMAN, AUS
San Francisco, Calif.

The Bandwagon

TRUMAN, COUNSELED BY MOTHER, RETURNS
TO TACKLE BIG PROBLEMS
—*Headline in the New York Times.*

Brigadier General Le Grande A. Diller, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur's public-relations officer, in a farewell speech thanked the enlisted men of the public-relations section for "helping me to attain my goal of seeing that General MacArthur got credit for everything in the Pacific and making sure that he was appointed supreme commander."—*From the Chicago Sun.*

Restriction of immigration to this country "for at least five years" as a means of "helping preserve democracy" was urged last night by Mrs. Julius Y. Talmadge of Athens, Georgia, president-general of the Daughters of the American Revolution.—*AP dispatch from Des Moines.*

Slumming: Hollywood Division

"I suppose we might be able to find one for less," Mrs. Garner [mother of child movie actress Peggy Ann Garner] worried, "but who wants to live in an \$18,000 house?" — *From the Los Angeles Times.*

The American Way

Hitler's Germany would be a kindergarten compared with the tyranny that would develop in any country that provided jobs for all. Only as men and women rustle their own jobs, will they remain independent. — *From Safety Valve, employee news sheet of the Freedom Oil Company, Freedom, Pennsylvania.*

Democracy in Action

The Negro rightfully claims an opportunity to enter business. That one has been permitted to enter the taxicab field reflects credit on Gary's growing consciousness that equality of opportunity is the birthright of every American. — *From an editorial in the Gary (Indiana) Post Tribune.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; \$1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. — THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Carlo Tresca Murder

SIR: With all due allowance for the pressure of world events, we are puzzled by the scant attention given by the daily press to a recent report by 19 responsible individuals of an inquiry into the causes of the delay in finding the slayers of Carlo Tresca, editor of the Italian journal, *Il Martello*. The report was issued in pamphlet form by the Tresca Memorial Committee, 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York 3.

Apparently only two newspapers printed anything about that report, and neither touched the real meat of it.

Our statement was a conscientious effort to serve the cause of justice by a group which sees great social peril in unpunished political murder. We pointed to some remarkable circumstances connected with District Attorney Hogan's investigation of the Tresca crime—especially the fact, of which we have documentary evidence, that Assistant District Attorney Louis Pagnucco, long in charge of the Italian end, had received honors and awards from Fascists.

Obviously Pagnucco did not belong in the probing of a case in which Fascists were under strong suspicion from the start. Yet Mr. Hogan refused for many weeks to do anything about this, acting only when he heard that 117 citizens were about to petition the Governor for a special prosecutor.

Then he promised a new inquiry, with Assistant District Attorney Lipsky in charge. But that didn't begin for more than two months, and a few weeks after that Mr. Lipsky was working on another murder. Since then a deep fog of official silence has settled over the Tresca killing, committed nearly three years ago. One friend with intimate knowledge of Tresca's political conflicts, whose name was known to the prosecutor's office soon after the crime, has never been questioned.

Mr. Hogan owes it to the whole community to demonstrate clearly that he is actually doing something definite toward apprehending Tresca's murderers.

New York City

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD
NORMAN THOMAS

Yugoslavia Needs Clothing

SIR: Now that the war is over, our country is trying to forget the sufferings of war. Luckily, we are able to forget; our homes were not bombed, our villages were not burned, our crops were not ruined. We have enough to eat and to wear, and most of us have roofs over our heads.

This is not the case in the Europe that was occupied by the Germans. It is certainly not the case in Yugoslavia. The story of that country's magnificent resistance to fascism has already been told, and our people have responded generously. We, the undersigned, saw that resistance first-hand. We saw American fliers rescued by Yugoslav Partisans, who gave their own lives in the process. We saw these Partisans fight against overwhelming odds, not only for themselves but for us.

Now they need help. They face a bitter winter and they have no clothes. They do not beg for clothes. They do not beg for anything. But they need clothing desperately.

We can help them. We can give what spare clothing we have to the American Committee for Yugoslav Relief, 235 East Eleventh Street, New York 3. This is not a political matter. It is a matter of humanity and simple gratitude on our part for what these people have done. We should be grateful that we are in a position to help them, because nothing that we do now for them can repay even half of what they have already done for us.

WALTER BERNSTEIN, RICHARD WITKIN, COLONEL
LOUIS HUOT, ELI DRAPKIN, JAMES A. DOLAN JR.

New York City

Profits and Wages

SIR: In your issue of October 15, Helen Fuller's discussion of the effect of a substantial wage increase on the cost of living seems rather beside the point. The demonstration that 1944 profits of corporations before income taxes were large enough to pay three times over for the \$8-billion increase to the annual national wage bill now demanded by labor proves exactly nothing.

Since 1944 profits now have been mostly dispersed by taxation, renegotiation, investment, and dividend payments, present production must pay its own way. The question is whether labor's demands can be met with profits from reconverted plants making civilian goods to sell at controlled prices. For certain plants, even for some industries, the answer may be yes; but to prove the ability to pay of industry as a whole, more pertinent figures are required.

Oakland, Calif.

G. DONALD MAY

From The New Republic Mail Bag

J. Reyes Martin of New York protests the denial of equal access to the press and the radio to freethinkers and atheists in the United States and the infringement of individual rights in our military-government area overseas. He calls our attention to news reports that at a prisoner of war camp in Ingolstadt, Germany, the American commander makes the prisoners attend either Catholic or Protestant services daily. Mr. Martin writes, "It is as tyrannical to compel people to go to church as to forbid them to go to church."

The New York Academy of Medicine sends us an announcement of its series of lectures to the laity which may interest our New York City readers. Lectures on Thursday evenings this winter will include talks on medical education, the ways and means of modern medicine, research in the medical sciences, and economics and medicine. Programs may be obtained from the Academy at 2 East 103rd Street, New York 29.

Books in Review

Ancestors for Everybody

SINCE 1938, Louis Adamic has been pushing ahead on a large-scale project which has now reached the point where it deserves careful and critical analysis. Between 1940 and 1942 he published three independent but closely connected volumes, *From Many Lands*, *Two-Way Passage* and *What's Your Name?* Each discussed a specific phase of an America that had been produced by the successive layers of immigration laid over the country. Now comes *A Nation of Nations*,¹ which goes beyond the specific to make plain that the Adamic project is nothing less than a rethinking and rewriting of the whole American past. This rewriting, and the entire project, will probably be finished in a fifth volume to be published in 1947 or 1948.

There are, Adamic says at the beginning of *A Nation of Nations*, two ways of looking at the history of the United States. The first way is the one which has dominated—"that the United States is an Anglo-Saxon country with a white-Protestant-Anglo-Saxon civilization struggling to preserve itself against infiltration and adulteration." The second—and the approach which Adamic proposes—is "that the pattern of the United States is not essentially Anglo-Saxon, although her language is English. Nor is the pattern Anglo-Saxon with a motley addition of darns and patches. The pattern of America . . . is a blend of cultures from many lands. . . . Diversity itself is the pattern." To give emotional meaning to this "rather chilly formula," Adamic retells the story of the United States in parallel chapters on "Americans from Italy," "Americans from Spain and Mexico," etc. As "wave after wave of these facts sweeps over us, startles us, rouses our interest . . . the second view, or something very like it [will] ring in the American atmosphere, the American consciousness."

Such a program, undertaken by a man of Adamic's exciting perceptions and abounding energies, would be noteworthy at any time, but in 1945 it has special potentialities for good or evil. Americans have always taken to rewriting their past whenever some enthusiasm or indignation permeates the present. Each of these reinterpretations not only expressed a pivotal interest of the period but also had a part in determining the action which flowed from the interest. During recent years the tortuous questions arising from relations between Americans of different backgrounds have been moving steadily to the forefront of national concern, and American history has been slanting—although more slowly—in the same direction. Judging from the effect of previous rewritings of American history, the way the past of the newer immigrants is handled will have an importance for their future.

It is because of this that the tone of *A Nation of Nations* becomes disturbing. That tone has its own revealing history. Learning about immigration the hard way—by being an

immigrant—Adamic spent his earlier years in the United States wondering if he would ever "belong," shielding his needle-point sensitivities behind a gustiness modeled after Mencken. When he got over Mencken, he continued to feel that American life was "not connected with any basic reality. . . . Only a sort of nervous, furious, superficial existingness. . . . Who wasn't lonely in America? Who had the sense of belonging here one hundred percent?" Who was like the townspeople in Adamic's native Yugoslavia, where the "whole village appears to be in deep harmony with the region"? A man coming at the story of America from this point of view is most concerned with rescuing all Americans from what he feels to be the loneliness of rootless masses. He wants to make it possible, as Adamic puts it in *A Nation of Nations*, for everybody "to visualize, to know about, to feel attachment to or kinship with the beginnings or growth of their country." He wants to give everybody ancestors, everybody an emotionally warming background which will make them feel as much in rapport with their surroundings as the townspeople of Slovenia.

In an attempt to do this, Adamic has written the kind of history that stirs the inverted inferiority complex, the chauvinism latent or more than latent in all minority groups. His basic organization makes it hard for him to avoid producing such an effect. Instead of dividing the history of the United States by periods—periods of immigration, to follow his thesis—he divides it into chapters which chronicle one nationality at a time. These chapters frequently read like a catalogue of claims for self-congratulation on the part of the particular minority. Only occasionally—notably in the case of the Irish—do the chapters point out that all the cultural baggage brought over may not have been socially good in the American environment. The glossing over of sharp differences present within particular minorities, querulous demands to know why so-and-so is not included in the history textbooks, the near-sneers of quotation marks that sometimes enclose the word "Americanization"—these and similar devices often give *A Nation of Nations* the tone of the clan-happy protests with which various hyphenated societies used to harass textbook publishers.

Adamic's concern to give everybody ancestors as edifying as William Bradford bends his major thesis toward an extreme which the facts simply will not permit. For good or for bad, the United States cannot be described as a country which is no more "essentially" Anglo-Saxon than anything else. Its basic political and legal institutions were imported from England. If Anglo-Saxon people and prejudices had not continued to dominate important segments of American life, there would be no need for many of Adamic's legitimate protests. Moreover, attention to Adamic's overstatements is not merely a question of accuracy for accuracy's sake. Such overstatements will give a field day to enemies of his basic plea for understanding—and a scarcely less unfortunate field day to those admirers who act as if they believe one chauvinism is better than another.

¹ *A Nation of Nations*, by Louis Adamic. New York: Harper and Brothers. 399 pages. \$3.50.

The tendency of *A Nation of Nations* to encourage minority chauvinisms is the more regrettable because of the essential rightness of its approach and Adamic's extraordinary equipment to drive that approach into the American mind. Certainly the United States is not so much of an Anglo-Saxon country as many Americans think it is, and we are becoming less Anglo-Saxon at a steadily accelerating pace. All Americans will have to accept this fact or, as Adamic says, carry on a psychological civil war with tragic consequences. The defects of *A Nation of Nations* are but the obverse side of its merits. Most old-stock historians of immigration have written with an emotional remoteness that catches little of the fire curling around their footnotes. The books of newer immigrants have often leaned so far backward that they have toppled over into an apologetic plea to be accepted by a civilization which should be doing the apologizing. Adamic goes at his material with a blunt self-respect which is as refreshing as his hatless tan. He knows intimately the little people struggling to find psychological peace in a harsh, chrome-plated Melting Pot—knows them through the antennae of his own sensibilities and through materials collected on a scale that probably exceeds the efforts of any previous student of immigration. He has an instinct for the excluded, for the subtle, shadowy thoughts and feelings which other able Americans could study for a lifetime and never really understand.

Perhaps now that Adamic has worked off his just indignation in the published volumes of his project, he may turn to the larger task of a history that integrates Americans of every kind into a continuing experience and carefully avoids building between them the walls of self-conscious pasts. If so, he will be giving all the people of the United States the best kind of ancestors—ancestors who stay dead.

ERIC F. GOLDMAN

Everybody's Children

One Nation, by Wallace Stegner and the Editors of *Look*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 340 pages. \$3.75.

THE PICTURES-PLUS-TEXT method of telling a story has become one of journalism's common and adaptable techniques. Resourcefully handled, the combination is as effective in serious sociological studies like *You Have Seen Their Faces* as in a *Life* account of a Hollywood screen test. *One Nation*, representing the most laudable use to which the method has recently been put, is regrettably uneven in applying the technique. Here the aim is to survey minority discrimination in the United States and "to indicate the economic and social and religious reasons behind discrimination and possible means of bettering the situation." Although the text is sensible and straightforward, if overlong, and the photographs catch the eye, words and pictures often fail to work together to serve the editors' purpose.

The book ambitiously tries to say something about nearly all our minority groups. In several sections, however, the photographs seem redundant or even irrelevant. Mr. Stegner's brief introduction to the chapter on American Indians offers some grim statistics about their lives, but the photographs, for the most part, are pretty and pastoral and contradict his words. By stressing rituals and clerical robes, the photographs in the section on the Catholic Church con-

tribute nothing to the major theme. In fact, this whole section seems merely polite and perfunctory. Furthermore, it is hard to understand why the editors imply—as they appear to by reproducing a page from the *Converted Catholic*—that it is bigoted to raise questions about the Vatican's prewar foreign policy.

When the results of social prejudices are as clear to the eye as to the mind, as in the case of the Negro, *One Nation* uses the pictures-text combination admirably. The camera can see what has been done to the Negro, and Mr. Stegner can point up the shame that the lenses disclose without repeating their statement. The technique is also properly used in the sections on the Pachucos of Los Angeles and the displaced Japanese Americans. If all the chapters were as effective as these, *One Nation* might have been a more urgent book.

Complex as the minority question is, it should not have proved impossible for the camera to drive home the most useful thing that Mr. Stegner has to say, that "we do not, specifically or separately, have a Negro problem, a Jewish problem, a Mexican or Oriental problem. We have one national problem of how to integrate our diverse cultures and peoples into one society." It should not have been impossible, either, to make the camera see another good point—that the prejudices against various minorities "can even infect minorities themselves, set one group off against another. . . ." This idea ought to have been explored further, with both camera and words, instead of being dropped after one paragraph. Further exploration of inter-minority tensions might have shed light on recurring outbreaks in Boston and Greater New York.

Although they have blunted their purpose, the makers of *One Nation* have had at least a partial success. It would be well if the book could be placed in the library of every secondary school. The fight for "unity in diversity" needs, of course, to be fought on all our intellectual battlegrounds. Because there is no other survey in this field at once so broad and digestible, *One Nation* should be especially valuable in helping to convince adolescents that minority discrimination threatens their future.

HERBERT LYONS

In Behalf of Judaism

A Partisan Guide to the Jewish Problem, by Milton Steinberg. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 308 pages. \$3.

EVERY ONCE in a while you come across a book so good that you wish it could be put into the hand of every literate person. This is such a book. It is not only beautifully written; it is a mine of information about one of the most baffling problems of modern times. The title leads one to think that the volume is mainly for Jews; it does contain a powerful and brilliant exposition of the newer trend in Judaism known as Reconstruction. Nevertheless the greater message is for non-Jews. After all, anti-Semitism is, as Dr. Steinberg points out, mainly a Gentile problem.

The America First platform asserts that "a recent poll by the University of Denver showed two-thirds of the American people 'anti-Semitic.'" This is a distortion of what the National Opinion Research Center at Denver ac-

tually found. Asked what influence they thought Jewish people had on the business world, 50 percent of the sample group replied "too much." Although not proving that even this 50 percent (instead of "two-thirds") is anti-Semitic, the figures are disturbing enough. Only small comfort can be derived from the comment of a Research Center associate, who writes: "Other questions about the Jews, which I am not at liberty to divulge, reveal a much smaller percentage of persons with a prejudice against Jews."

Because of a prevailing conspiracy of silence, even philo-Semites lack ammunition and information to combat anti-Semitism. Some people think you can cure anti-Semitism simply by never mentioning it. This negative approach sheds as little light as it does heat. Thus recently, while giving a paper on Zionism to a small group, I found myself at a loss, as was the group, to explain where anti-Semitism originates or what could best be done about it.

Rabbi Steinberg knows where anti-Semitism comes from and he has some good ideas as to what to do about it. He finds the poison rooted in: (1) indoctrination, much of which is centered in the Christian Sunday schools' lurid tale of the crucifixion; (2) economics, because intolerance increases toward all minority groups in bad times; (3) resentment against the extraordinary, together with a protest of the unpractising Christian against the Christ personality ("rebellious against the Christ, Christians transfer their antagonism from him to his people"); (4) manipulation and design of malevolent leaders who encourage popular prejudices to serve their own ends. The germ seeds flourished in the declining economies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, hand in hand with reactions against democracy. Proposals for combating anti-Semitism by "inconspicuousness" or de-Judaization, Dr. Steinberg characterizes as "formulas of frenzy." Instead, he proposes to attack the disease by: (1) education on every front; (2) promoting every possible association between the two groups; (3) resisting defamation everywhere it shows itself, even to the point of (4) making it punishable by law. Moreover, the Jews have a large stake in the general improvement of the economic system (Russia having practically eliminated anti-Semitism) as well as the fate of democracy.

This is the creed of a "passionate survivalist." But one does not have to be a Jew to feel that assimilation is "in the end a yielding to a blind prejudice." To abandon the Jewish heritage is surely "an act of wanton waste, a tragedy of spiritual vandalism." Cultural varieties make life richer and more beautiful; "so one person or group stimulates and prods another; so one good custom is kept from corrupting the world." The trouble with the Jews, Dr. Steinberg tells us, is that they are not Jewish enough, they do not know what Judaism has given the world in the way of ethics, religion, philosophy, literature. As a matter of fact, even Jewish scholarship is not so efficient as is sometimes assumed. "Unfortunately, and incredible as it may seem, many of the most important moralistic texts of Judaism still await translation."

While Zionism is not presented as even a partial solution to the problem of anti-Semitism, Rabbi Steinberg hopes the success of the experiment in Palestine will react favorably on the status of American Jews. This will come about as a result of: (1) increasing recognition of the agricultural,

industrial and cultural achievements of the Jewish Homeland; (2) greater ease of understanding, inasmuch as Jews, "divested of qualities of the bizarre, almost the spectral, . . . may be accepted more conventionally"; (3) the subtraction of a substantial number of Jews from the most diseased areas, thus easing long sustained pressures. Cassandras to the contrary, no spokesman for anti-Semitism has been able to make capital out of the fact of Zionist achievements.

This book will not comfort the convinced assimilationist. The thesis may be attacked for its exaggeration of the importance of Zionism, for accepting all anti-defamation activities uncritically, for judging world progress in the light of the Jewish problem. None the less, there is tremendous inspiration here for anyone who believes in the value of minority groups. More reminders are needed of how much there is at stake and how much the Jewish tradition has meant to our civilization. Brandeis, whose contribution Dr. Steinberg has somewhat slighted, forty years ago declared:

I find Jews possessed of those very qualities which we of the twentieth century seek to develop in our struggle for justice and democracy; a deep moral feeling which makes them capable of noble acts; a deep sense of the brotherhood of man; and a high intelligence, the fruit of three thousand years of civilization. . . . These experiences have made me feel that the Jewish people have something which should be saved for the world; that the Jewish people should be preserved; and that it is our duty to pursue that method of saving which most promises success.

JAMES MORGAN READ

The Answer to Hayek

Freedom Under Planning, by Barbara Wootton. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 180 pages. \$2.

THIS BOOK is at the heart of an intensely controversial field, and the author holds firm convictions on one side of that controversy. Yet there is a fairness in her treatment of the subject which goes deeper than good manners. She disregards the weak points of her opponents' argument and employs the strong points for a careful probing of her own case. She scrupulously avoids the use of fighting words with double meanings. She defines candidly both freedom and planning, and her definitions meet the issue squarely. The result is an argument which consists of scrupulous inquiry rather than invective or innuendo.

This manner of discussion is a refreshing contrast to much that passes for superior wisdom in contemporary writing. Not only are its conclusions more convincing because of its temper; they are of greater use to those who agree than the sort of mental dramaturgy which serves only to discredit an opponent or stiffen a prejudice. For they throw light on how those who want to plan may achieve the results they desire without incurring the disasters which the critics of planning predict.

Freedom, the author defines simply as "ability to do what you want." She carefully distinguishes it from opportunity and well-being. "Freedom from want" is not in her eyes properly a freedom at all, since people may be well fed and

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ALFRED · A · KNOPF

still be slaves. She is suspicious of those who try to decide between what people actually want and what they ought to want. Having thus given the opponents of planning their choice of verbal weapons, she comments that freedom so defined is not the sole purpose of organized society, which, even though democratic, may legitimately wish to provide security and abundance. She also makes a distinction, necessary for any analysis, among various specific freedoms, not all of which are of equal importance to the individual. There are many civil, cultural, political and economic freedoms, which may on occasion come into conflict with one another as well as with other purposes for which the democratic state may strive. The question is what freedoms have to be limited, and how much, by specific kinds of state intervention.

Mrs. Wootton also declines to be euphemistic about what is meant by planning. She excludes from her discussion planning by business organizations or voluntary bodies. The kind of planning against which it is necessary to defend freedom is "conscious and deliberate choice of economic priorities by some public authority." This does not necessarily mean socialism, but it does mean controls exercised by the state over production, investment and other important economic functions.

By careful analysis, the author proceeds to demonstrate that while planning of this kind may negate freedom in many realms and may be imposed by political dictatorship, it may also be associated with liberty. She shows how and why planning for full employment could be exercised without abolishing the kinds of freedom which are most important to most people and without limiting some freedoms

at all. It is possible, to use a homely illustration, for a public authority to determine the schedules on which trains shall be run without exercising any control over the conversation in those trains or preventing people from traveling where they wish.

The all-or-nothing kind of thinking employed by the doctrinaire opponents of state planning is thoroughly dissected by this conscientious study. Though Mrs. Wootton does not say so, their approach may truly be called the totalitarian one, because they will not admit the possibility of any state planning which does not control all of life. It is much more helpful to observe, as the author does, that if planning is not to be associated with dictatorship, it demands a high degree of democratic competence and a skillful organization of the social structure. Her experience has given her sufficient faith in democracy to disagree with Professor Hayek that if it attempts too much, the worst elements will necessarily rise to the top.

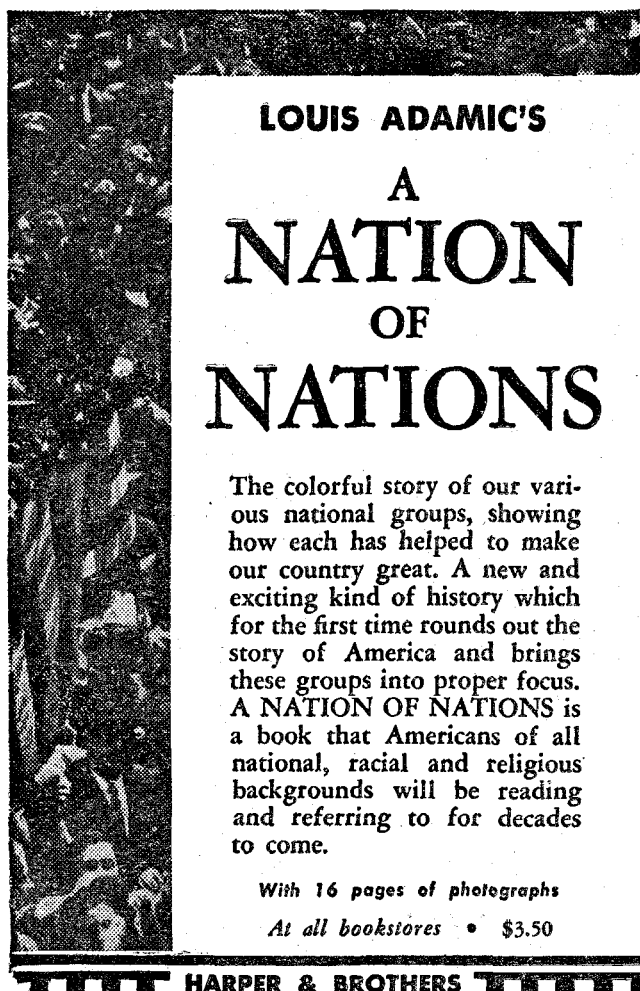
GEORGE SOULE

The Problem of Population

Population Roads to Peace or War, by Guy Irving Burch and Elmer Pendell. Washington: Population Reference Bureau. 138 pages. \$2.

THE THESIS of this little book is that the uncontrolled growth of population was and is an important factor in creating differential pressures of population on resources, and thus in intensifying the urge of certain peoples toward the acquisition of larger resources. In addition, the authors argue that "freedom from want requires population limitation" and that the development of "democracy requires population limitation." Consequently they urge that the problems of population growth throughout the world be given consideration when the conditions of peace are being discussed, that unless population growth is controlled in the future there is no hope of maintaining peace.

With all this the reviewer finds himself in entire agreement. He has long been convinced that the great differentials in resources and economic opportunity as between the great Asiatic populations, which are now the "swarming" peoples, and the Western Europeans, who are no longer growing appreciably, is a constant threat to world peace; that the time is rapidly passing when a relatively small population can keep a much greater population in subjection because of its superior economic power. Modern communication, transportation and industry are transforming the "backward" peoples, albeit slowly, and they are going to demand a larger share in the good things of the world. We have recently seen that a country like Japan, with a relatively low war potential, can make a great deal of trouble in the world if she is willing, as such a country always will be, to sacrifice human life prodigally in the effort to obtain a larger place in the sun. The reviewer is not so hopeful as the authors seem to be that these differentials in population growth can be controlled in time to prevent another war, but he fully agrees that we must try to do so, since otherwise future wars of conquest are inevitable. He also agrees that this control must be voluntary, adopted by these peoples themselves, that it cannot be imposed from without.



LOUIS ADAMIC'S

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But having said this much, he must say that he feels that the authors have weakened their case for adequate consideration of the differentials of population growth not only by the peacemakers but by the informed public, by dragging in questions of sterilization, marriage regulation and eugenics in general, which have little immediate connection with wars caused by unchecked population growth. They have given little attention to the means of curbing numbers among the backward peoples who are only now beginning to control deaths and have not yet shown any appreciation of the need to control births.

That there is only one sensible way of controlling population growth at present—by birth control—is generally agreed upon in the West. But the authors do not squarely face the real dilemma of differential population growth today, namely, that to the best of our knowledge, birth control becomes effective in the modern world largely in proportion to the improvement in living conditions of the people, and that while this is being achieved—a matter of several decades at least—the increase in numbers is greater than ever before. There is no discussion of how industrialization might contribute to better living conditions or how the desire to control births might be stimulated among these backward peoples. In addition, the discussion of migration as a factor in relieving population pressure ignores entirely the possibility that the right of the backward peoples to migrate into unused areas and to exploit their natural resources might have a psychological effect on their attitudes toward the dominant European colonial powers out of all proportion to its actual economic effects on the level of living among these growing peoples, or on their rate of growth.

This book is such a curious mixture of good sense in the evaluation of the meaning of the main currents of quantitative population growth in the world and of biased thinking in regard to its qualitative aspects in a country like the United States that it seems very likely that the problems of war and peace arising in connection with the differential growth of nations may be overlooked by many readers.

WARREN S. THOMPSON

Another James Boy

The Cherokee Strip: An Oklahoma Boyhood, by Marquis James. New York: The Viking Press. 294 pages. \$3.

MARQUIS JAMES was born in Missouri about the time the Strip was opened, and went to Garfield County as a babe in arms. There, he lived in a world of small proportions until his departure at the age of twenty. Meanwhile, he watched Enid grow from a mere cowlick in a pasture into an important railroad center, grain market and citadel of Republicanism in Oklahoma. By the time he was old enough to write it, the history of the "run" into the Cherokee Strip had been written many times, and had become a legend on the tongue of every northwest Oklahoman.

"Papa" James, a distant cousin of the outlaws, Jesse and Frank, preceded his family to The Strip, filed a claim on land, and continued his practice of law. He was an affable man, an improvident opportunist, the local boss of the Republicans and an implacable foe of the Democrats. His death left his widow and youthful son smothered in debt. "Markey" was variously a messenger boy, printer's devil,

*Historians and
reviewers praise*

The Age of Jackson

by

**ARTHUR M.
SCHLESINGER, Jr.**

Marquis James, Pulitzer Prize biographer of Andrew Jackson: "Many will understand better the causes that engendered, the forces that sustained and the aims that triumphed under the aegis of a leader who has lately left us and whose mark on American life is so like that of Jackson."

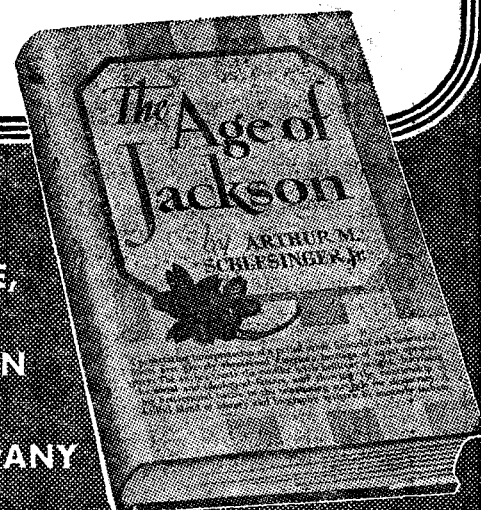
Charles A. Beard: "It represents the results of painstaking research in Jacksonian sources, many of them hitherto neglected; it is written with verve and is firm in judgment."

Merle Curti, in *The Nation*: "...a triumph of historical scholarship, analysis and interpretation... throws much new light on a host of Americans, well-known and less well-known, who come to life in remarkable portraits that are both brilliant and sensitive."

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LITTLE,
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cub reporter, grocery hack driver and circulation manager. Enid's newspapers severally and collectively enjoyed only precarious existences, and Markey flitted like a butterfly from one as soon as its juice was gone to another that seemed more inviting. Tramp printers and itinerant reporters came and went, but Markey remained. He managed to complete his high-school course and to enroll at what is now Phillips University, but seems never to have completed his first semester there. At last, the overtures of the big city lured him, but not until he had exhausted the limited opportunities available to him in Enid.

The book represents a collection of bedtime stories told by the author to his children, somewhat amplified for the benefit of the general public. Its facts are of too small caliber, its history too local and its narrative too tedious and newspaperish for it to attract more than a casual reading by anyone whose motivation is serious and whose tastes are discriminating. Although James is a Pulitzer Prize biographer, his talents are less developed in the field of autobiography because his provocation in that direction is more meager.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

A Reader's List

PLANNING: No. 240. Trade Associations and Government (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the *New Republic*, 25 cents). Wartime controls in Britain, says PEP in this well documented study, required that government obtain the collective opinion of industry and that industry speak with one voice. Trade associations, therefore, became the instruments for establishing lines of communication between the City and Downing Street. The editors note that prices, rationing, merchandise grading, import duties and legislation provided the specific areas of contact. In legislation particularly, PEP observes, trade asso-

ciations entered the law-making process "not only at the preliminary stages where bills were put before Parliament, but also at the intermediate and crucial juncture where legislation was formulated and drafted." PEP does not discuss policy in this broadsheet; that is reserved for a later pamphlet. The problem of policy, the editors remark, cannot be divorced from the question of economic controls during the transition. Continuation of wartime measures will unquestionably require the formulation of a positive trade-association program.

FINANCING AMERICAN PROSPERITY (Twentieth-Century Fund, \$3). The six contributors to this interesting symposium on American economic prospects represent a fair cross-section of professional opinion. Their views range from the extreme right-wing attitudes of Benjamin M. Anderson, former Chase National Bank economist, to the considerably more liberal ideas of Alvin H. Hansen and John Maurice Clark. The other contributors are Howard Ellis, Sumner Slichter and John H. Williams. Anderson, as one might anticipate, harshly criticizes recent economic policy and urgently calls for a return to pre-New Deal philosophy. Clark and Hansen, on the other hand, insist that wise public policy requires measures to balance consumption and saving. Ellis, who would perhaps subscribe to Williams' proposal for a high-wage low-price program, launches a telling attack on monopolistic tendencies. The authors' views are properly codified by Fritz Machlup, who, with Paul T. Homan, edited the volume. The book adequately reflects trends in American economic thinking. The very lack of unanimity is perhaps an indication why we have no cohesive economic policy.

SOCIALISM LOOKS FORWARD, by John Strachey (Philosophical Library, \$2). Mr. Strachey adds little to his stature as an exponent of socialism in this pamphlet-blown-up-into-a-book. It is a simply written case for a socialist society addressed primarily to the uninitiated. Mr. Strachey ably employs his well known talent for popularization and clearly

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explains the labor theory of value, exploitation, monopolistic control and imperialism. His arguments, however, make better sense when they treat the questions of interdependent production, absentee ownership of industry and the relation between savings and investment. Capitalism, he maintains, is unable to achieve the requisite balance in the "circulatory process," for property relations are bound to clog the income stream. Only a socialist society will have the power to direct investment and income flow; without such direction it will be impossible to attain a well functioning economy. The future of Britain, Strachey urges, lies in socialism. It remains to be seen, however, whether British socialism will exhibit any of the features Mr. Strachey advocates.

OTHER CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

WILLIAM POSTER is a free-lance writer, now working on a critical history of the avant-garde. He has written for the *New York Herald Tribune*, the *New York Times* and the *New Republic*.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL JOHN H. SHERMAN, AUS, now stationed at San Francisco, is an economist who resigned a college presidency to serve in the activation and training of Negro troop units at the beginning of the war. He is a veteran of the AEF in World War I and of the Solomon Islands campaign in 1943-44. His present home is at Babson Park, Florida. He is now looking for a postwar job.

ERIC F. GOLDMAN is an assistant professor of History at Princeton University.

HERBERT LYONS will shortly resume the managing editorship of the *New Republic* after three years in the army.

JAMES MORGAN READ, who was associate professor of History and chairman of the Social Sciences Division at the University of Louisville, is now connected with Civilian Public Service and is working on a book, *Brandeis and Zionism*.

WARREN S. THOMPSON is director of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems at Miami University. He is the author, among other books, of *Danger Spots in World Population and Population and Peace in the Pacific* (in press).

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN is head of the Department of Sociology and Rural Life at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

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